ENGLISH INTERCOURSE

WITH

SIAM

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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PREFACE.

THIS hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of British enterprise in the East owes its origin to the following circumstances.

Seven years ago, I found myself in the pleasant town of Mergui, a seaport on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. I had gone thither at the request of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, to bring together materials to illustrate in the museum some of the features of the marine fauna of the Bay of Bengal, a department of animal life then all but unrepresented in the collections contained in that institution.

On my return to this country from India in the beginning of 1885, the collections made in the Mergui Archipelago were brought to England to be placed in the hands of men competent to work out efficiently the various animal groups represented in them. My first idea was that the results of the labours of those employed in this work should be published by the Trustees of the Indian Museum, aided, if possible, by a grant from the Government of India.

To add to the interest of this contemplated report, I proposed to myself to preface it with a short account of the history of the district in which my labours had lain.

My appeals for scientific assistance to work out the collections met with a willing and speedy response in every instance, and I am consequently under a deep debt of gratitude to all those who aided me, and I have elsewhere attempted, although very imperfectly, to express my

obligations to them for their labours. However, after the various groups of animals represented in the collections had been distributed among my colleagues, and I had received some of their reports, I observed that the work was assuming proportions I had not anticipated, and found that its publication would be a much more costly undertaking than I had originally contemplated. This also proved to be the case as regards my own researches into the history of Mergui, which grew as the inquiry advanced.

In order to fulfil the understanding I had entered into with those scientific men who had so willingly given me their assistance, *viz.*, that their reports should be published with as little delay as possible, the duty was laid upon me to arrange, on my own responsibility, for the early publication of their labours.

The action taken by me in this respect was attended with complete success, as my appeal to the Council of the Linnæan Society of London to publish the scientific results of the expedition to Mergui in their Journal met with a cordial response from that body, on the condition that they received a small grant-in-aid towards the cost of publication. At that time I was under the impression that one volume of the Journal of the Linnæan Society would have sufficed for the purpose, but as the work advanced, it was found that a second volume would be needed, and this was granted by the Council on the same terms as the first.

Having thus had to give up my original idea that the Trustees should publish the report, and having collected a mass of materials bearing on the history of Tenasserim, including Mergui, which could not be published by the Linnæan Society, I resolved to publish my researches separately, and I was encouraged to do so by Dr. Rost; and I now make public this chapter in the history of English intercourse with Siam, a kingdom of which the province of Tenasserim formed a part in the seventeenth century. I am duly sensible of its many imperfections,

but as it brings to light facts hitherto generally unknown regarding the keen interest taken by our countrymen in the trade of Siam during that period, I venture to place them on record, and hope that my labours may be leniently judged.

By far the greater part of this narrative is founded upon original documents preserved in the India Office, and I am deeply indebted to Mr. Frederick Charles Danvers, the registrar and superintendent of these Records, for permission to examine the rich historical treasures under his immediate keeping. I have also to tender my thanks to Sir George Birdwood and to Mr. C. E. D. Black for affording me facilities for their examination that tended greatly to lighten my labours. My acknowledgments are likewise due to Dr. Rost for valuable counsel on several occasions.

The book itself speaks more tellingly than I can do of the immense assistance I have received from the erudite labours of that distinguished scholar, Colonel Sir Henry Yule, whose name will be found quoted throughout the work, either singly or associated with that of his lamented colleague, Arthur Coke Burnell. The names of others who have assisted me will be found mentioned in the pages of the work, and I take this opportunity to thank them individually for their aid.

In looking back on the seventeenth century, in the beginning of which our countrymen first appeared in the East in any numbers, and turning our eyes to the map of Southern Asia as it now exists, what a wondrous revolution has befallen that part of the globe since then. It is about a quarter of a century less than 300 years since English merchants first set foot in Southern Asia. Then they owned no more than the warehouses in the seaports and towns in which they were permitted to sell their goods, and their presence, in a map of that period, would be represented by small red dots, mere pin-points, scattered at wide intervals along the seaboard of India, Burma,

Siam, and some of the islands of Oceania. But in a map of to-day, we find the British Empire in the East extending from the frontiers of China and Siam westwards to those of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and from the Himalaya in undisturbed sway southwards to the waves of the Indian Ocean—a mighty empire, nearly 2000 miles in extent from east to west, and 1700 miles from north to south.

An unbiassed history of how this vast responsibility of government has gradually come to rest upon our nation has yet to be written.

In view of the wonderful changes that have befallen many sovereignties in the East since the seventeenth century, the circumstance that Siam has remained but little affected by them is a noteworthy fact. But now that that kingdom is in contact, both to the east and to the west, with European powers, the conditions of her past have become considerably altered, and no more forcible illustration of this can be adduced than the Commission that is shortly to assemble on her western frontier to settle certain questions affecting the limits of our jurisdiction in that region, arising out of our recent conquests in Burma.

71 HARRINGTON GARDENS, LONDON,
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ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH SIAM

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INTRODUCTION.

On the 11th May, 1824, the Burmese seaport of Rangoon was attacked and occupied by the British troops under Sir Archibald Campbell. As the season advanced, and the country became inundated by the flooded rivers and heavy rains, it was found impracticable to engage in any active operations in the direction of Ava. A part of the force at his command was, therefore, dispatched by Sir A. Campbell, by sea, to reduce the maritime provinces of Burma, and the districts of Tavoy and Tenasserim were selected to be attacked. In selecting Tenasserim and its port, Mergui, as desirable acquisitions for Britain, the commander of the army of invasion was unwittingly carrying out a continuity of action, on the part of his nation, for, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, King James the Second and his Government, instigated by the East India Company, had yearned after Mergui, and had even attempted, but unsuccessfully, to capture that seaport, where it had been their intention, if they had triumphed, to erect a fort to command the navigation and commerce of the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and the overland route to Siam. This, however, in 1824, had all been forgotten; but the national aspiration of 1687 was gratified in 1824, as Mergui, on

being summoned, on the 6th October, to surrender unconditionally, fell in an hour's time before the gallant assault of the British troops, supported by the guns of the cruisers of the Honourable East India Company.[1]

Two years later, the war, which had been forced upon Great Britain by the arrogance and hostility of the Burmese in the region of Assam, was brought to a close by the treaty of Yandabo, concluded between the King of Burma and the Honourable East India Company on the 24th February, 1826. By this treaty his Burman Majesty undertook to abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and ceded to the British Government Arakan, and "the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui and Tenasserim," their islands and dependencies.[2]

The tract of country then acquired by Britain was 540 miles long, and extended from the junction of the Thounggyeng with the Salwin, in lat. 17° 57′ N., to the extremity of the peninsula of the Pack-chan, in 10° N. Its breadth varied from seventy-five to fifteen miles, according as the sea-coast approached or receded from the range of mountains defining the eastern boundary of British territory and extending throughout the entire length of the province. The rivers on the eastern side of this chain of mountains flow into the Gulf of Siam, those on its western flank into the Bay of Bengal.[3]

These districts, now collectively known as the Province of Tenasserim, have had a very checkered history, being sometimes subject to the sway of Burma and Pegu, and at other periods to that of Siam. According to the native history of Taungu, King Narabadisîthu,[4] one of

[1] Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, with an Introductory Sketch of the Events of the War, and an Appendix. Compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. Calcutta: From the Government Gazette Press, by G. H. Huttmann, 1827.

[2] Wilson, *l. c.*, Documents, p. 209.

[3] Calcutta Review, vol. viii., 1847, p. 73.

[4] Burma, its People and National Products, by the Rev. F. Mason. Rangoon, London, and New York, 1860, p. 46.

the famous figures in the early history of Burma, and who reigned from 1167 to 1204, ruled from the borders of China to the mouth of the Tenasserim river—a definition of his sovereignty now descriptive of the Burmese possessions of Great Britain. There would appear to be some foundation for his claim to Tenasserim, as a pagoda situated on Zediwon hill,[1] about eleven miles inland from Mergui, is said to have been built by him when he visited this remote province of his kingdom, near the end of his reign.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Siam had established its influence over Tenasserim and Tavoy, and even as far north as Martaban, as the second Shan king of that principality, on ascending the throne of his brother Warêru, the first of this Shan dynasty of the Pegu kingdom, had to solicit a recognition of his title from the king of Siam.[2] His successor, the third king, although married to a daughter of the king of Siam, took possession of Tavoy and Tenasserim; but during the reign of the fourth monarch, about 1325–30, the provinces of Tavoy and Tenasserim were recovered by Siam. In 1373, the Siamese are said to have founded the town of Tenasserim, and seven years later to have built the pagoda of Wottsheng,[3] still standing on the ruins of Old Tenasserim. This sacred edifice has been enabled to withstand the onslaught of five centuries by the ever-recurring reparative efforts, the good work of pious Buddhists.

We have now to turn to the Siamese history, which, however, unfortunately has neither the fulness nor credibility of the historical documents of Burma, owing to the circumstance that the State Records of the country perished in the flames that consumed the capital in 1767.[4] What now exists of Siamese history consists of two sec-

[1] British Burma Gazetteer, 2 vols., 1879, 1880, vol. ii. p. 403.

[2] History of Burma, &c., by Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Phayre. London, 1883, p. 66.

[3] British Burma Gazetteer, vol. ii. p. 402.

[4] E. M. Satow, Transactions Asiatic Society, Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 181.

tions, the *Phŏngsá-va-dan-Mŭang-nŏi* and the *Phŏngsá-va-dan-Mŭang-Thăi*, "composed by the great-uncle of the present King from fragments preserved in monasteries, and from traditions surviving among the priests."[1]

The first part of this history is full of fables and myths,[2] whilst the second, known officially as the *Phŏngsá-va-dan-Rachha*, gives an account of the Siamese kings, drawn up in the way already indicated, commencing with the foundation of the capital, Ayuthia, which it assigns to the year 1350–51.[3]

As has been previously stated, the provinces of Tenasserim and Tavoy were recovered by Siam, between 1325 and 1330, and when Phra Rama Thĭbŏdi of the *Thăi-nŏi*, or Little Thăi, founded his new capital Ayuthia, they formed, according to Siamese history, an integral part of the kingdom of Siam, which then embraced Moulmein and Martaban.[4] If any subjection, however, to Siam existed on the part of these two states, it was in all probability not more a than feeble tributary fealty; and it has been recorded by João de Barros,[5] that Siamese rule, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, did not extend farther north than Tavoy.

The province or state of Tenasserim, to the south of Tavoy, seems to have been held by the Siamese, without

[1] Joseph Haas, Journal North. Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, vol. xiv., 1879, p. 35. E. M. Satow, Transactions Asiatic Society Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 181.

[2] Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam, par Mgr. Pallegoix, tom. ii. Paris, 1884, p. 58.

[3] Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Siam and Cochin-China, by John Crawford, F.R.S. 2 vols. London, 1830, vol. ii. p. 141. The Kingdom and People of Siam, by Sir John Bowring, F.R.S. 2 vols. London, 1857, vol. i. p. 43. Colonel H. Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo. 2 vols., 2nd edit., 1875, vol. ii. p. 259. R. N. Cust, Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, p. 213. Mr. Cust says, "An inscription exists in the ruins of the old capital of Ayuthia, dated 1284 A.D." This may possibly be the inscription that was found at Sakkothai and described by Bowring (*l. c.*, pp. 278, 279), and which, according to Bastian (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. pt. i. p. 30), is now preserved in the palace at Bangkok. Yule (*l. c.*, p. 259) says the date of this inscription is almost certainly 1292–93, and he quotes Garnier (Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, tom. i. pp. 136–137) in support of the alteration of the date.

[4] Pallegoix, *l. c.*, p. 75.

[5] Terceira Decada da Asia, Lisboa (1563), Liv. iii. folio 65.

any intermission worthy of note, up to 1765, when it was reduced by the Burmese,[1] who retained possession of it until it was ceded to Britain by the treaty of Yandabo.

Tenasserim, the chief town of this province, had maintained a reputation for trade among European nations from the early part of the seventeenth century; but, in 1760, it was pillaged by Alaunghprâ, and further devastated, in 1765, while its downfall was sealed by the destruction of Ayuthia, in 1767, and by the attainment once more by the Burmese of supremacy along the eastern sea-board of the Bay of Bengal, as far south as the mouths of the Tenasserim river. In its fall it brought commercial ruin on its seaport, Mergui.

The importance of Tenasserim and Mergui, prior to the Burman conquest of the province, depended on the circumstance that the town of Tenasserim was the starting-point, on the western sea-coast of Siam, of an overland route to the capital, Ayuthia, and a port also at which vessels of light draught occasionally[2] discharged their cargoes, and thus avoided the long and dangerous voyage to the capital round the extremity of the peninsula; while larger vessels resorted to the safe and commodious harbour of Mergui, whence their cargoes from the Red Sea, the Coromandel Coast, and Bengal were transmitted in boats to Tenasserim, and thence overland to Ayuthia.

Tavernier,[3] in his account of the kingdom of Siam, says that "the shortest and nearest way for the *Europeans* to go to this Kingdom, is to go to *Ispahan*, from *Ispahan* to *Ormus*, from *Ormus* to *Surat*, from *Surat* to *Golconda*, from *Golconda* to *Maslipatan*, there to embark for *Denou-*

[1] Phayre's History of Burma, pp. 184–190.

[2] "The old capital of the province may be approached by vessels of 130 tons burthen."—Calcutta Government Gazette, March 2, 1826, quoted by H. H. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, App., p. lviii. Helfer (Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vii. pt. ii., 1838, p. 702) says, "The large *Tenasserim* river is accessible there (village of Tenasserim) to vessels of 100 tons burthen."

[3] The Six Voyages of John Baptiste Tavernier, &c., Finished in the year 1670; made English by J. P. 1 vol. folio. London, 1678, Book iii. p. 189.

serin, which is one of the Ports belonging to the Kingdom of *Siam*. From *Denouserin* to the Capital City, which is also call'd *Siam*, is thirty-five days' journey,[1] part by Water, part by Land, by Waggon, or upon Elephants. The way, whether by Land or Water, is very troublesome; for by Land you must be always upon your guard for fear of Tigers and Lions; by Water, by reason of the many falls of the River, they are forc'd to hoise up their Boats with Engines."

The difficulties of the route, however, were not such as to deter travellers from frequently using it, as in the sixteenth century it was traversed by Portuguese and Siamese ambassadors or envoys, and, in the seventeenth century, by an ambassador of Louis XIV. of France, by envoys from Goa to the court of Siam, by ambassadors from Shāh Sulaimān of Persia, and the kings of Golconda, by French and Portuguese missionaries and Jesuits, and by the servants of the East India Company, who used the route for the transmission of their Indian correspondence, directing their letters "*viâ* Tenassaree."

The travellers' route lay up the river as far as the town of Tenasserim, and beyond this still farther by boat to a place called Jelinga,[2] the Ialinque of the map drawn up by M. Cassini (a member of that distinguished family of astronomers who for four generations filled the office of Director of the Observatory at Paris), for the illustration of the French ambassador's account of Siam,[3] and the Jalinguer of Crawford's map.[4]

At Jelinga the land journey of this route began, and could be performed either by doolies, carts, or on elephants.

[1] The distance is here over-estimated, as the journey generally took ten to twelve days.

[2] "*To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses Assembled in Parliament.* The Answer of the *East India Company*, to two Printed Papers of Mr. *Samuel White*, One Entituled *His Case*; The other, *A True Accompt of the Passages at* Mergen."

[3] A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, by M. De La Loubère, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King to the King of Siam, in the years 1687 and 1688. 2 vols. London, 1693.

[4] History of the Indian Archipelago. 3 vols. 1820. Vol. iii.

The route, after crossing the watershed, followed down the valley of a river, and terminated at the city of Phiphri,[1] described by De La Loubère[2] as lying at the mouth of a river about two leagues to the west of the most occidental mouth of the Menam. In Pallegoix's map[3] it is placed on a small stream entering the Gulf of Siam, opposite the western extremity of the bar at the mouth of the Menam river. In early times it was a place of importance, as it was a residence of the kings of Siam, and the office of governor was hereditary, as in the case of Tenasserim.

In De La Loubère's map a place called Pram occurs on the opposite and right bank of the river on which Phiphri is situated. It appears to be identical with Peranne, a place mentioned in the literature of 1688[4] as the terminus on the Gulf of Siam of the route from Mergui, and the point at which travellers embarked in boats for Ayuthia.

But instead of proceeding to Phiphri or to Pram, there was another route, terminating at a place near the eastern coast called Queal,[5] evidently the Cuy of Antonio Galvano,[6] the Couil of De La Loubère, the Kĭu of Pallegoix, and occupying much the same position as Chulai in modern maps, in the most recent of which one fails to find any trace of Phiphri.[7]

In Pallegoix's map there is another route laid down direct from Mergui by land in a north-easterly direction, straight to Xam, on the western coast of the Gulf of Siam, some distance to the south of Kĭu. The point at which this route crossed the Tenasserim river was apparently at Jelinga, whence it went more directly east to the gulf.

[1] Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites, &c., par Père G. Tachard. Paris, 1686, p. 213, where it is called *Piplis*.

[2] New Hist. Rel., p. 8.

[3] Descr. du Roy. Thai ou Siam, 1854.

[4] The Answer of the East India Company, *l. c.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Antonio Galvano's Discoveries of the World. Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 112, where it is said from "Patane, vnto the citie of Cuy, and from thence to Odia."

[7] J. M'Carthy, Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. x. No. 3, New Monthly Series, March 1888.

It was probably a route frequented by the French missionaries in the time of Bishop Pallegoix.

There was yet another route from Mergui and Tenasserim to the eastern shore of the peninsula, but instead of going in a northerly direction, it proceeded from Tenasserim to the south-east and terminated at a place called Bangnarom, on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, doubtless the B. Irŏm of Pallegoix, probably meaning oyster-village. Along this route Mr. Leal, the interpreter to Captain Burney's mission to Bangkok, in 1825–26, travelled with between five and six hundred captives who had been carried off from Tenasserim by the Siamese, and had been liberated on the demand of our Government.[1] As Mr. Leal's travels across the Siamese frontier in more than one direction seem to have been almost forgotten, the short account that was given of them by Government, in 1827, from notes supplied by him, is reproduced as an appendix[2] to this work.

The invasions of Siam by Alaunghprâ and his successors depopulated not only Tenasserim province, but the Siamese dominions on the eastern shore of the gulf, as far as and including Ligor itself, which even, in 1825, had a scanty population, brought about by these catastrophes. In that year the Siamese, hearing of the success of the British at Mergui and to the north, took alarm lest their territory should next be invaded, and orders were consequently issued from Bangkok to the governors of Kraw and of Xŭmphon that no trade was to be permitted between Siamese territory and Mergui. While Arthur Harris[3] was at Xŭmphon, in January 1826, he asked the governor to forward a letter, with which he had been intrusted by

[1] From the Calcutta Government Gazette, January 25 and February 8, 1827, quoted by H. H. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, App., p. lxxv.

[2] Appendix A.

[3] An Account of an Overland Journey from Ligor to Bankok. Madras, 1854. The journey was made when Harris was acting as assistant-surgeon to Captain Burney in Siam (1825–26), when the latter concluded a commercial treaty with the Siamese, but the narrative of the journey was not published until 1854. It was edited by an unknown hand.

Captain Burney, to Mr. Maingy at Mergui; but he was told that this could not be done, as very positive orders had been issued to prevent all communication between the Siamese and the inhabitants of the new British territories.

The Siamese governor of Xŭmphon,[1] shortly after Mergui and Tavoy came into our possession,[2] continued to make predatory raids[3] on these districts. This was due to the enmity then existing between the Siamese and Burmese peoples, the result of the excesses of the kings of the Alaungphrâ dynasty. These armed incursions were attended with all the deeds of cruelty which, from time immemorial, have distinguished warfare in Burma and Siam. Many hundreds of captives were carried off by him to Ligor, and no less than fourteen hundred were recovered by the mission of Captain Burney to Siam, in 1825–26. Fortunately this iniquitous system has ceased to exist since the treaty with Siam was made by Captain Burney in 1826; but that treaty signally failed to restore the trade[4] between the two shores of the peninsula, as it had been literally annihilated by the ruthless massacre of the inhabitants. Could it once more be restored, a period of prosperity might be inaugurated in the district of Mergui, a portion of our Burmese possessions which has made little progress since it came under

[1] Xŭmphon was the place where the Siamese troops destined for the attack of Tenasserim and Mergui always assembled. Harris, *l. c.*

[2] H. H. Wilson, *l. c.* App., p. lxxv.

[3] H. H. Wilson, *l. c.*, Documents, Nos. 132–135.

[4] By the tenth article of the treaty it was provided that Asiatics, British subjects, not being Burmese, Peguers, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter and trade in Siamese territory, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, were to be allowed to do so freely, overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates. But merchants were forbidden to bring opium into the country, as it was positively a contraband article in the territories of Siam. If any were discovered, it was to be burned and destroyed. The original Siamese, in the tenth as well as the thirteenth article of the treaty mentions that *Khek*, and *Cheen*, or Chinese only, shall be allowed to travel into the interior of Siamese territory from Tenasserim. *Khek* signifies a foreigner, but was applied to Malays and natives of Hindustan not descended from Europeans. Calcutta Gazette, quoted by H. H. Wilson, App., p. lxxxviii.

British rule. To promote such an end would be wisdom compared with the trifling and vain course, pursued by successive Deputy-Commissioners, of trying to introduce the cultivation of foreign products into a country which only requires its own vegetable and mineral wealth to be developed by the re-opening of a trade route once renowned in the commercial history of the Malayan Peninsula and Siam.[1]

The village of Tenasserim, situated on the ruins of the old town, the wall of which, in 1827, had a circumference of four miles, lies at the confluence of the Great and Little Tenasserim rivers, on the left bank of the latter, about thirty-seven miles south-east of Mergui, and about sixty miles in a straight line from the eastern coast of the peninsula. I am not aware whether the officers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India fixed the position of Tenas-

[1] Since writing the above, the following passage bearing on this route, has been found among the many extracts from the Calcutta Government Gazette, of 1827, quoted by H. H. Wilson. It is as follows—"It is to be hoped, that our officers at Mergui will shortly be able to re-open and re-establish these old and almost forgotten roads into the rich kingdom of Siam, and thus revive the ancient and valuable commerce, which was conducted with Siam through this channel, first by the Portuguese, and afterwards by the French."—App., p. lxxvi.

In the British Burma Gazetteer, vol. ii. 1879, p. 384, the trade routes between Mergui and Siam are described as follows:—"The most northern pass across the main range into Siam is by the Tsa-raw but this is so difficult that it is almost impracticable and only used by Kareng. Seventy-six miles farther south is another, called by the Burmese 'Maw-doung' and by the Siamese 'Khow-maun,' the one meaning 'Tired Hill,' the other 'Pillow Mountain,' at the source of the Thien-khwon stream; this is the main line of communication between Mergui and the southern provinces of Siam. On the English side the country is so infested with tigers that the natives never attempt the journey unarmed, or in less numbers than three. Apart from this the Thien-khwon stream is navigable only by the smallest boats during that part of the year when travelling is possible. The route is both bad and long and it is also through a line of country where elephants are not procurable, in addition to which there is a scarcity of drinking water on the Siamese side."

The Tsa-raw or Sa-ra-wa route, however, seems to have been the route most used towards the end of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered, and was the one followed by ambassadors and others. It was shorter than the southern route, so far as the sea was concerned. For an account of a journey from the shore of the Gulf of Siam by the southern route to Mergui, see the Appendix already referred to.

serim in 1881–82, as materials for ascertaining this do not exist in London; but they determined the position of Tenasserim Peak, No. 2,[1] in the neighbourhood of the old town, and made it to be lat. 12° 2′ 58″ N., and long. 99° 1′ 6″ E.

The name of this town has undergone various renderings in European literature,[2] depending on the nationalities of the travellers, the sources of their information and on other circumstances.

[1] Preliminary Chart of the Eastern Frontier Series. Seasons 1877–78, and 1879–82.

[2] The following are some of the references to this province and town, and the modifications of the name:—*Thenasserim*, Nicolo di Conti (Poggii Bracciolini, Hist. de Varietate Fortunæ, lib. 4, p. 131, Paris, 1723), (1430). *Tenáseri*, Abdur-razzāk (Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Biblioth. du Roi, &c., t. xiv. p. 429). In Sir H. M. Elliot's translation (Hist. of India, vol. iv. p. 96) it is *Tanāsiri*. In the Roterio da Viagem, &c., fez Dom Vasco Dà Gama, em 1497, Porto, 1838, it is *Tenaçar*. Amerigo Vespucci, in his letter from the Cape de Verde Islands, 1501 (Il Milione di Marco Polo, dale Conte Gio. Batt. Baldelli Boni, t. i., 1827), rendered it *Tanaser*. Another Italian, Leo. Da Ca' Masser, 1506 (Relazione di L. Da Ca' M., &c., Appendice all' Archivo Storico Italiano, t. ii., 1845, p. 28), wrote it *Tenazar*. Varthema (1510) wrote of the country, which he had never seen, as *Tarnassari* (Itin. de L. V. Bolognese nello Egypto., &c., 4to, stampato in Roma MDX., folios lxvi. to lxx.). Albuquerque (1511) rendered it *Tanaçarij* (Commentarios do Grande A. D., &c., Lisboa, 1576, p. 399). G. da Empoli (1514) wrote to his father, *Tanazzari* (Arch. Stor. Ital., App., t. iii., Firenze, 1846, p. 80). Duarte Barbosa (1516) wrote it both *Tanaçari* and *Tanaçary* (Livro D. B., in Collecção de Noticias, &c., Publicanda pela Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, t. ii. num. vii., Lisboa, 1813, pp. 242 and 369. Gaspar Correa (1519) knew it as *Tanaçarim* (Lendas da India, Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos, &c., Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, t. ii. pt. i. p. 568). Pinto (1546) renders it *Taunaçarin* (Peregrinaçoēs de F. Mendez Pinto. . . . no reyno da China, Tartaria & Sornau, &c., Lisboa, 1614, fol. 17 *et seq.*). De Barros (Decadas da Asia, Decad. ii. (1552), Liv. vi. chap. i. fol. 79; Decad. iii. (1563), Liv. ii. fol. 37), gives both *Tanaçarij* and *Tenasarij*. Ramusio, in the Sommario de Regni (Primo Vol., &c., Navig. et Viag., 1550, p. 361), writes it as *Tanaçarim*. Garcia de Orta (1563) conversed of it with Ruano (Coloquios dos simples, e drogos, &c., Goa, 1563, pp. 22–23) as *Tanassarim* and *Tenassarim*. Cesare dei Fedrici (1568) described it (Viaggio di M. C. dei F. nell' India Orient., &c., Venetia, 1587, p. 94) as *Tenàsari*. The Dutchman, Linschoten (1587), spoke of it (The Voy. of J. v. L. to the East Indies, Hak. Soc., 1885, vol. i. p. 101 *et seq.*) as *Tanassarin*. The Englishman, Fitch (1587), heard of it probably from Malays, and called it *Tenaseri* (Hakluyt Collection, vol. i., 1599, p. 396). In the Ain-i-Akbari (1590) it is spoken of as *Dahnásarí* (Blockmann's ed., Calcutta, 1873, vol. i. p. 281). Sir James Lancaster (1592) knew of it as *Tanaseri* (Voy. of Sir J. L., Hak. Soc., 1877, pp. 15–16). Christoval de Jaque (1596–97) spoke of it as *Tenauri* (Arch. des Voy. par H. Ternaux-Compans [1841–45], t. i.

The present Siamese name of Tenasserim is *Tănaosí*,[1] the Malay form is *Tānahsrí*[2] or *Tānasarí*,[3] while the Burmese has been rendered as *Tenanthari*,[4] *Tannethaiee*,[5] *Ta-nen-thā-ri*,[6] and *Tanang-sărī*.[7] The Chinese name appears to be *Ta-na-ssu-li-sen*.[8]

In 1686, Tenasserim town appears to have been known to the Siamese simply as *Tannaw*. This name occurs in a printed document attached to a petition presented in 1689 to the House of Commons by the East India Company.[9] This document contains the constitution of a commission appointed by the Siamese Government for

p. 312). The Arctic mariner, John Davis (1599), steered towards *Tanasserin* (Voy. and Works of J. D., the Navigator, Hak. Soc., 1880, p. 154). P. Francesco Fernando, writing from Bengal in 1599, spoke of it as *Tananarino* (Lettera del P. Nicolo Pimenta, Visitatore della Comp. di Giesv' nell' India. Roma, 1601, p. 43). In Decada xiii. (1612–17) da Hist. da India, composta por Antonio Bocarro, Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, pt. i., 1876, it is mentioned (p. 135) as *Tenassarim* and (p. 185) as *Tanaçarim*. John Saris (1605–9), who knew it well by reputation, spoke of it as *Tenassere* (Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, p. 392). Pierre du Jarric (1615), in his account of the visit of Sequeira (1606) the Jesuit to Sion (Siam), (Thesaurus Indicarum, 1615, t. iii. pp. 432–436) wrote of it as *Tanaçarij*. Gotardo Arthus (Historia Indiæ Orientalis, &c., p. 329, 1608) describes it as *Tanassaria*. Peter Heylyn (ΜΙΚΡΟΚΟΣΜΟΣ, A Little Description of the Great World, 3rd edit., Oxford, 1626, p. 677) spoke of it as *Tonazarin*. Tavernier wrote it *Denouserin* (*l. c.*, p. 189); he returned from the East Indies in 1669. In a document (1664) preserved in the Public Record Office, London, it is written *Denouserree*. De La Loubère wrote it, as it is now generally used by our countrymen, viz., as *Tenasserim*; but D. Gio. Francesca Gemelli Careri (1695), (Giro del Mondo, Napoli, 1699–1700, t. iii. pp. 358, 359), used *Tenazarin*.

[1] Dictionarium Linguæ Thai sive Siamensis, by D. J. B. Pallegoix. Paris, 1854, p. 779.

[2] A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries, by John Crawford, Esq., F.R.S., 1856, p. 429.

[3] Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, by Col. H. Yule, C.B., LL.D., and A. C. Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E., 1886, p. 695.

[4] Captain R. Lloyd, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. vii. pt. ii., 1838, p. 1027.

[5] The Indian Directory, or Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, by James Horsburgh, Esq., F.R.S., vol. ii., 1855, p. 34, footnote.

[6] Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 695.

[7] The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. Edited by Mr. Albert Gray, assisted by H. C. P. Bell. Hakluyt Society, vol. ii. part i., 1888, p. 140 footnote.

[8] George Phillips, Journ. China Branch Royal Asiatic Soc., vol. xxi. (1885), p. 221.

[9] The Answer of the *East India Company* to two Printed Papers of Mr. *Samuel White*, one entituled *His Case*; the other, *A True Accompt of the Passages at Mergen*.

the administration of the province of Tenasserim, which in those days was about one-half the size of the present British province, and gives the official titles of the members, two of whom were Englishmen. The head of the commission was an *Oeya* (evidently a misprint for *Ocya*), and had the title of *Ocya Tannaw,* as the town of Tenasserim had then the rank of a city of the second class, and was under the jurisdiction of an *Ocya.*[1] This name *Tannaw,* has survived up to recent times, for the *Tannan* of Horsburgh,[2] is unquestionably only a modification of it, due either to a clerical, or to a printer's error.

Tanahsri is made up of two Malay words, viz., *Tănah,* country, and *srí,* prosperity, liberality, beauty, grace, glory;[3] and in connection with this, it is noteworthy that *sí,* the terminal syllable of *Tănaosí,* also means in Siamese pretty, beautiful, glorious.[4] The affix *sí* is likewise found in Siamese names of some towns, *e.g.*, *Pharma-sí,* the celebrated city of Benares.[5] The similarity of the Siamese *Tănao* to the Malay *Tănah* suggests that it has possibly a Sanscrit origin like the latter, and a similar meaning.

Duarte Barbosa[6] in speaking of the Island of Ceylon, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, said it was called by the Indians *Tenarisin,* and added "que quer dizer terra das delicias." This same expression was used by François Pyrard of Laval in his account of Ceylon, and Mr. Gray[7] thinks that, in using it, Pyrard was seemingly quoting Duarte Barbosa, who, according to Mr. Gray,

[1] A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, by Mgr. De La Loubère, p. 80.

[2] Horsburgh, *l. c.*, p. 34.

[3] A Dictionary of the Malay Language, by Wm. Marsden, F.R.S., London, 1812, p. 169. Dictionnaire Malais-Français, par l'Abbé P. Favre, t. ii., 1875, p. 748.

[4] Pallegoix, Dict., p. 733: *sĭrĭ* in Siamese also means beautiful, glorified, &c., *ibid.*, p. 740.

[5] Pallegoix, *ibid.*, p. 544.

[6] Ramusio, Primo vol., Delle Navig. et Viag., 1550, p. 337. Collecção de Noticias para a Hist. e Geof. das Naçoẽs Ultramarinas, &c., Acad. Real das Sc., t. ii. num. vii., Lisboa, 1813, Livro de Duarte Barbosa, p. 353.

[7] The Voyage of François Pyrard to the East Indies, &c., vol. ii. pt. 1, 1888, p. 140.

had misused the term in applying it to Ceylon. Barbosa, however, distinguishes Tenasserim as *Tanaçar* and *Tanaçarij*, words practically identical with *Tanaseri*, the Portuguese rendering of the Malay *Tānahsrí* and *Tānahserí*, as it is pronounced.

In Lord Stanley's edition of Duarte Barbosa's work,[1] translated from an early Spanish manuscript preserved at Barcelona, "full of abbreviations, and without punctuation or capital letters at the beginning of sentences or for the proper names," the foregoing sentence is rendered very differently, as it runs thus: "the Indians call it (Ceylon) Ylinarim. It is a rich and luxuriant land. . . ."

Mergui, owing to its position and to the safety of its harbour, still retains a certain amount of the trade of the western coast, and is the only port of any note between Moulmein and Penang.

It is situated in lat. 12° 26′ N., and long. 98° 38′ E.,[2] at the mouth of the Tenasserim river, and on an island formed by branches of that stream, and to the west of the town lies the beautiful group of high wooded islands known as the Mergui Archipelago.

In European literature, Mergui is first mentioned as Meguim, belonging to the kingdom of Siam.[3] Its Siamese

[1] The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, by Duarte Barbosa, edited by the Hon. Henry Stanley. Hakluyt Society, 1866, p. 166.

[2] I am indebted to General Walker, C.B., and to Sir Charles Bernard, K.C.S.I., for the latitude and longitude of Mergui. These are shown on a chart in the India Office entitled "Preliminary Chart of the Eastern Frontier Series, Seasons 1877–78 and 1879–82," and giving the most recent data of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in that district. The station at which the above positions were taken was the Five Pagoda Hill, Mergui, 112 feet above the harbour.

[3] De Barros, Decad. iii. Liv. ii. (1563), fol. 37. The following are some of the other modifications of this name:—Cesare dei Fedrici (1568), (Viaggio di M. C. F. nell' India, &c., p. 94; Ramusio, vol. iii., 1606, p. 392 *seq.*) has it *Mergi*. Pinto (Perigrinaçoēs, 1614, p. 179), *Merguim*. Van Schouten calls it *Mergy* (A Description of the Government, &c., of Siam, London, 1663, p. 124); and Van Vliet (Beschr. van het Koningryk Siam, &c., p. 40, Leiden, 1692) mentions it as *Myrghy;* De La Loubère's name for it is *Merguy, l. c.*, p. 8. The Englishmen residing at the place called it *Mergen* (The Answer of the East India Company, &c.); while in a book written about the

name is *Marĭt*,[1] and its Burmese *Myut*[2] or *Myat*,[3] pronounced *Beit*;[4] but if it has a Malay name, which it probably has, it has apparently not been recorded.

In the document[5] in which the constitution of the Tenasserim Commission of 1686 is detailed, an *Opra* is mentioned as the lowest member but one of the commission, its most subordinate official being the *Olvang Chomoung*. The first of these offices was held by an Englishman, Richard Burneby, and his title was *Opra Marrat*, or more correctly *Opra Marĭt*, *i.e.*, governor of Mergui. In those days there were six orders of cities in Siam,[6] and those of a lesser grade than cities entitled to *Ocyas* were governed by *Opras*; and from independent evidence existing in the Records of the India Office, it is known that Richard Burneby, in 1684–87, held a high appointment at Mergui under the Siamese Government, and what that appointment was, and the Siamese name of Mergui, are thus learned directly from the document in question, which was translated into English, either at Ayuthia, or at Mergui itself.

The foregoing names of this town may possibly have had a Talaing origin, the European form Mergui being a corruption of *Marĭt*, with the addition of the Burmese word *gyi*, meaning great, an affix that frequently occurs in Burmese names of places.

There is a curious fact connected with *Marĭt* and *Tănao*, viz., that the two combined form *Maritanau*, the Malay name of Martaban, according to Crawford.[7] The Siamese claim to have possessed Martaban at different periods. It

same time it appears as *Morgen* (A Full and True Relation of the Great and Wonderful Revolution that happened lately in the Kingdom of Siam. London, 1690).

[1] Pallegoix's Dictionary, p. 430.

[2] Captain Lloyd, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. vii. pt. i. p. 1037.

[3] Captain J. Butler's Gazetteer of the Mergui District, 1884, p. 1.

[4] Horsburgh, *l. c.*, p. 38; Butler, *l. c.*, p. 1; Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 434.

[5] The Answer of the East India Company, &c.

[6] De La Loubère, *l. c.*, p. 79.

[7] Dictionary of Malay, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 114. In his Descriptive Dict. of the Indian Islands, &c., 1856, p. 429, he says, the Malays call Martaban *Muritanau*.

is known by them at present as *Mo-ta-ma,*[1] and to the Talaings as *Mu-ta-man.* On an inscribed stone at the pagoda of Koung Mhoo daw, or Yaza ma-netsoola, near Ava, Mouttama or Martaban is mentioned as part of the kingdom of Yamaniya, a section of the Burmese empire at that period, 1636–50 A.D.[2] It would thus appear as if not only the Malay, but also the Siamese, Talaing, and Burmese names for Martaban were compounds of the native names of Mergui and Tenasserim.

The capital of Siam throughout more than four centuries was Ayuthia, situated on an island in the river *Mē-năm,* or "mother of the waters," about sixty miles from the sea, and in lat. 14° 26′ N. and long. 100° 40′ E.

In the valuable work of the Heratee Abdur-razzāk[3] entitled: "*The Rising of the two fortunate Planets* (*Jupiter and Venus*) *and the Junction of the two Seas,*" it is stated that traders from *Shahr-i-nao* frequented the port of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in the early part of the fifteenth century.

In the Malay Annals[4] a great Raja is mentioned as having reigned in *Shaher-al-nawi,* a term which, in another part of the Annals, is said to have been the name by

1 Pallegoix's Dict., p. 446.

2 A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855, by Capt. Henry Yule, London, 1858. Appendix B., p. 351. Extracted from the MS. Journal of Major H. Burney, Resident at Ava, that accompanied a letter dated Sept. 11, 1830, preserved in the Foreign Office, Calcutta.

3 Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres Bibliothèques, Publiés par l'Inst. Roy. de France, faisant suite aux Not. et Ext. lus au Comité établi dans l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Bel. Let., t. xiv., Paris, 1843; also, The History of India as told by its own Historians, by Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and continued by Prof. John Dowson, M.R.A.S., vol. iv. p. 89 *et seq.* In this translation there is an entirely different rendering given to this particular word in Abdur-razzāk's text, but Colonel Yule considers that M. Quatremère's rendering *Shahr-i-nao* or "New City" in the "Notices et Extraits" is preferable to Sir H. M. Elliot's "the ninety cities." Dowson, *l. c.*, p. 514.

4 Malay Annals, translated from the Malay Language by the late Dr. John Leyden, with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., London, 1821, p. 73, where it occurs as *Shaher al nawi,* and at p. 121 as *Seheri navi,* and it is stated to have had "all the regions under the wind dependent on it."

which Siam was known in ancient times. Colonel Yule[1] has directed attention to Mr. Braddell's[2] suggestion that the name *Sheher-al-nawi* "refers to the distinction spoken of by La Loubère between the Thai-*Yai*, an older people of the race, and the Thai-*Noi*, the people known to us as Siamese." He, however, considers this less probable than that *Shahr-i-nao* simply referred to Siam and its capital Ayuthia. He explains[3] the origin of the term thus:—"We have still a city of Siam, *Lophaburī*, anciently a capital, and the name of which appears to be a Sanskrit or Pali form, *Nava-pura*, meaning the same as *Shahr-i-nao* (New City); and this indeed may have given rise to the latter name." He also points out that this designation of Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, appears among the early navigators of the sixteenth century in the modified forms *Sarnau*, *Sornau*, and *Xarnauz*.

Kæmpfer[4] relates that the capital immediately preceding Ayuthia stood on the site now occupied by Bangkok. For some reason or other, the latter site was abandoned, and a new city, Ayuthia, was built farther up the river. To it therefore the term *Shahr-i-nao*, "New City," might be aptly applied. In the lips of Europeans it became modified, as we have seen, to Sarnau, &c.; but Western nations also knew the capital as *Siao*, *Sion*, *Siam*, *Sian*, and *Ciama*, all seemingly derived from *Siyām*, the Malay name of the country, and further modified, for some unknown reason, to *Anseam* and *Asion*.[5]

The term Ayuthia,[6] according to Tachard,[7] is an abbreviation of the Siamese name of the capital, *Crung si ayu-*

[1] Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 601.

[2] Journal Ind. Archipelago, vol. v. p. 454.

[3] The Book of Ser Marco Polo, 2nd edit., 1875, vol. ii. p. 260. Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 601.

[4] The History of Japan, &c., &c., together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, written in High Dutch by Engelbertus Kæmpfer, M.D. Translated from his original MS. by J. G. Scheuchzer, F.R.S. London, 1727, 2 vols. vol. i. p. 27.

[5] Yule-Burnell Glossary, pp. 631–632.

[6] For the many high-sounding terms applied by the Siamese to their capital in the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Satow, in Trans. As. Soc. of Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 151.

[7] Voyage de Siam. Paris, 1686, p. 365.

tha ya, Crung sí[1] signifying the excellent town.[2] During the present century the name of the city has also been applied to the kingdom. Thus in the treaty concluded at Bangkok, by Captain Burney, on behalf of the British Government, in 1826, the king is spoken of as he who dwells over every head in the city of the sacred and great kingdom of Si-a-yoo-thă-yă.[3]

Ayuthia, or in the language of the country, *Ăjŭththăja*,[4] is the Siamese rendering of the Sanscrit *Adjodhyā*, the name of the Hindu city of Rama.[5] It has been very variously modified by foreign nations.[6]

Tenasserim was first visited by a European about fifty years before a sea-way to the Asiatic continent from Europe, round the south of Africa, had been discovered.

[1] According to Pallegoix (Dict. Lang. Thai, p. 364), *Krŭng* is the capital town. The affix *sí* is the same as the terminal *sí* in *Tănaosí*.

[2] Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War. Wilson. Appendix, p. lxxvii.

[3] In the work, Nouvelle Geographie Univ., par Elisée Reclus, t. viii. (1883), p. 831, it is said, "Siam ou Ayuthia (*Si-Ayo Thaya*), désignée maintenant sous le nom de *Kroung-kao.*" Written according to Pallegoix, it would be *Krŭng* the capital, *Kăo*, ancient.

[4] Pallegoix's Dict., p. 7.

[5] Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China, by John Crawford, F.R.S. London, 1830, 2 vols., vol. ii. p. 139. Descriptive Dict. of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Places, by John Crawford, F.R.S., 1856, p. 393.

[6] The following are some of the principal modifications:—

Vdiā.—Commentarios do Grande Dalbuquerque, p. 396.

Hudiá.—Barros, Decad. iii. Liv. ii. (1553), folio 35.

Iudia.—Maffeus, Joannes Petrus, e Soc. Iesv. Historiarum Indicarum, libri xvi. Florentia, p. 130, E.

Iudia.—Pigafetta, (1522), Magellan's First Voyage Round the World, Hak. Soc., 1874, p. 156.

Judea.—Calendar of State Papers, Colonial East Indies, 1617–1621, par. 86. Diary of Richard Cocks. Hak. Soc., vol. i. (1882), p. 372.

Judia.—Nevens Een Treur-blyeynde Ongheluck, des Oost-Ind. Comp. Dienaers in't yaer 1636; wedervaren, in 't Coninckliicke Hof van *Siam*, in de Stadt *Judia*, onder de directie van den E. Jeremias Van Vliet. (Published as part of "Ongeluckige Voyagie van't Schip Batavia Nae de Ost-Indien:" known as Pelsaert's Voyage, 1628–29. Amsterdam, 1647.) Beschryving van het Koningryk Siam, Van Vliet. Leiden, 1692, p. 13.

Juthia.—Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont à la Cour du Roi de Siam. Paris, 1687, p. 61. Pallegoix, Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam, t. ii. Paris, 1854, t. i. p. 54 *et seq.*

Odiaa.—Pinto, *l. c.*, folio 232.

Odia.—Pigafetta, Primo vol. delle Navig. et Viag. Ramusio (1550), p. 396. Barros, Decad. ii. Liv. vi., fol. 80.

Udaya.—Malay Annals, p. 15.

For centuries prior to that great event, the trade of India "was supposed to have elevated feeble states into great ones; and to have constituted an enviable part in the fortune of the most opulent and powerful: to have contributed largely to support the Grecian monarchies both in Syria and Egypt; to have retarded the downfall of Constantinople; and to have raised the small and obscure republic of Venice to the rank and influence of the most potent kingdoms."[1]

It was Nicolo di Conti, a native of the last-mentioned state, who seems to have been the first European to visit the province of Tenasserim. About four hundred and fifty years ago he returned to his native land, after having wandered for twenty-five years over the East. Many a strange adventure had been his, and, on one occasion, it was only by abjuring his religion that he saved the lives of his wife and children. To this painful incident in his career we are indebted for the record of his travels. On returning to Italy, about the year 1444, his denial of the Christian faith so troubled his conscience, that he applied to Pope Eugenius the Fourth for absolution. The penance enjoined on Di Conti by his Holiness was that he should faithfully relate his travels to his secretary, Poggius.[2]

On going back to India from a voyage to the island of Sumatra, he proceeded to Thenasserim (Tenasserim), where he arrived after a stormy voyage of sixteen days. He describes the town as situated at the mouth of a river of the same name. From the position thus assigned to Tenasserim, it is evident that the seaport at which his vessel called was not Tenasserim, but Mergui; for the former is

[1] Mill's Hist. of India (Wilson's ed.), vol. i. 1840, p. 4.

[2] Poggii Bracciolini Florentini Historiæ de Varietate Fortunæ, Libri quatuor. ex MS. Codice Bibliothecæ Ottobonianæ nunc primum editi, et notis illustrati a Dominico Georgio Accedunt ejusd. Poggii Epistolæ lvii., quæ nunquam antea prodierunt. Omnia Joanne Oliva Rhodigino vulgata. Paris, 1723. Ramusio, Delle Navig. et Viag. Primo vol. et terza ed. 1563, p. 339. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. v. (1626), p. 408 *et seq.* Die Kenntniss Indiens im fünfzehnten Jahrhunderte von Dr. Friedrich Kunstmanns. Munchen, 1863, p. 40. India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt Soc., 1857.

situated thirty-seven miles up the river to the south-east of the latter, and is not at the mouth of the river. It was, however, pointed out two hundred years ago,[1] that occasionally Mergui was erroneously called Tenasserim, a mistake into which Nicolo di Conti fell. In his time, the route across the peninsula to the opposite coast on the Gulf of Siam doubtless existed; and as Tenasserim was the western terminus of that route, the subordinate seaport might well pass by the name of the larger and more important town, the designation of which was that also of the district and of the river.

Nicolo di Conti, on his visit to Mergui, was so struck by the number of elephants, that he especially mentions them as one of the features of the country. Two hundred years ago, these animals were so numerous in the province of Tenasserim that they were largely exported to the coast of Coromandel and to Bengal, as is learned from records in the India Office.[2] Conti also mentions sappan-wood (*Cæsalpinia sappan*) as one of the products of the country.

[1] Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam, &c. Nicholas Gervaise. Paris, 1688, p. 14.

[2] The following notices of ships with elephants arriving at the port of Masulipatam, from Tenasserim alone, are taken from the Diary and Consultation Book of that factory:—

April 25, 1680.—A ship with elephants.
May 3, 1680.—A ship with 16 elephants.
April 21, 1681.—A ship with 13 elephants.
Feb. 21, 1682.—A ship with 15 elephants.
Feb. 22, 1682 —A ship with 15 elephants.
Feb. 22, 1682.—A ship with 11 elephants.
April 20, 1682.—A ship with 6 elephants.
April 22, 1682.—A ship with 4 elephants.
March 1684.—Two ships with 46 elephants.
April 1684.—A ship with 12 elephants.
April 1684.—A ship with 20 elephants.

But according to Gemelli Careri (Giro del Mondo, t. iii. pp. 358–359, and Churchill's Voyages, vol. iv. p. 284), Tenasserim was a great mart for elephants at the end of the seventeenth century. He went from Goa to Malacca in 1695. He says, "All the country of Malacca, Cambaya, Siam, Ciampà, Cocincinna, and Tunchin abounds in elephants, of which the Siamese particularly make a great trade, carrying them by land to the opposite coast and port of Tenazarin, belonging to the king of Siam, near the Gulf of Bengala, where merchants buy to transport them by sea into the dominions of Mahometan princes."

Not only elephants, but also horses were exported from Acheen. In Notes and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort St. George (1670–1681), pt. ii. p. 9, among a number of horses bought at Fort St. George in 1679 occurs "one Atchein" at 20 pagodas, but "one old Turky" cost 40 pagodas. The king of Acheen used to be described in official documents as "a king upon whom God has bestowed . . . many thousand horses for war; the choicest stone-horses of *Arabia*, *Turky*, *Catti*, and *Balacki*." Beschr. der Ost-Ind. Kusten Malabar und Coromandel, &c., P. Baldæus, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 23.

So recently as 1835 a considerable trade in sappan-wood was carried on by native boats between Mergui and Dacca; but in an official return of the exports from Mergui for 1883–84, no mention is made of this wood. Nicolo di Conti's visit to Mergui took place between 1425 and 1430.

The next mention of Tenasserim occurs in the travels of Abdur-razzāk,[1] known as the Samarkandi, from his long residence in that city, but a native of Herat, born in 1413, and who was selected by Shāh Rok, in 1442, to proceed on an important mission to the king or Raja of Vijayanagar. In his description of the seaport of Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, *Tenāseri* (Tenasserim) is mentioned by name as one of the countries, among many, the inhabitants of which were to be seen at that once famous entrepôt of commerce.

In 1497, Vasco da Gama's great exploit had been accomplished. He had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, an event which, in its far-reaching consequences, was destined to revolutionise the political, commercial, and social history of every Asiatic nation. After its accomplishment, the seas washing the shores of the coast of Asia and of its islands became the highway of fleets of merchantmen armed for defence, and not unfrequently for offence, all eagerly pressing forward in search of the wealth of the Orient, and in quest of suitable localities in which to dispose of their goods and to serve as centres of trade. Vasco da Gama's voyages brought back some information about Tenasserim, and, according to a contemporaneous manuscript preserved in the Public Library at Oporto,[2] "Tenaçar was peopled by Christians, and the king was also a Christian;" and it continues, "In this land is much brassyll, which makes a fine vermilion, as good as the grain, and it costs here three cruzados a bahar, whilst in Quayro (Cairo) it costs sixty;

[1] Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, &c. Paris, 1843, p. 429.

[2] Roterio Da Viagem Que em Descobrimento da India Pelo Cabo da Boa Esperança fez Dom Vasco Da Gama, em 1497. Porto, 1838. (Segundo um Manuscripto coetaneo existante ne Bibliotheca Publica Portuense, &c.), p. 110.

also there is here aloes-wood, but not much."[1] It is highly improbable that Tenasserim was so Christian as to entitle it to be described as "peopled by Christians," but it is possible that the Christianity then existing on the coast of Coromandel may, to a certain extent, have made its influence felt at Mergui in those early times, when the traffic between the two coasts was at its height. It may, however, have been that the Portuguese, recognising a similarity between the Buddhist ritual and that of the Romish Church, concluded that the inhabitants were Christians.

Eagle-wood, or wood-aloes, at the present time is obtained by the Malay and Chinese merchants at Mergui from the islands of the Archipelago, where it is collected by the Selungs,[2] who barter it for their pressing wants, chiefly rice, salt, and cloth.

The Portuguese Government, in 1501, in consequence of the chance discovery of Brazil by Cabral in the previous year, dispatched from Lisbon an expedition to discover a western passage to the Spice Islands, variously known as Melcha, Melacca, Malaccha.[3] The Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, regarding whose veracity very different opinions have been held by those who have investigated his claims to have made four voyages of discovery, entered the service of Dom Manuel of Portugal, and took part in this new expedition to the "Land of Parrots" (Brazil), and probably accompanied it in some subordinate capacity. It sailed in

[1] Yule-Burnell Glossary, pp. 695, 696.

[2] The Selungs are a timid people inhabiting the Archipelago. They are sea-gypsies, living in their boats during the north-east monsoon, and in little huts perched on stakes in the sandy bays, during the south-west monsoon. Each family possesses a boat, and generally more than one dog for hunting the wild pig. While not engaged collecting the products of the sea, and preparing them for the Chinese traders who visit the islands, the Selungs devote their time to searching the forests in quest of honey and wax, and for the nest of the bee, *Trigona lœviceps*. They belong to the Malay race, but differ from the typical Malay; and Dr. Rost informs me that a vocabulary of the language shows that it is a distinct Malayan language, and not a dialect. General Horace A. Browne also informs me that it has not been perceptibly influenced by contact with the Burmese-speaking population of the adjoining coast.

[3] Narrative and Critical History of America. 2 vols. London, 1886. By Justin Winsor. Vol. ii. p. 150.

the first instance to the Cape de Verde Islands, and while there it met with Cabral's vessels on their return voyage from the coast of Malabar. The information Vespucci collected from them, while at Cape de Verde Islands, he communicated to Lorenzo di Pier Francisco dei Medici in a letter dated the 5th June, 1501.[1] In this letter he mentions some places with which the Portuguese traded, and among them *Tanaser*.

In the discovery of the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetian Republic saw a distinct danger to its maritime supremacy; and in order that it might know what was being done by the Portuguese in their voyages to the East, and benefit by their experience, Leonarda Da Ca' Masser[2] was sent to Lisbon for two years, where he lived at the peril of his life, to observe and accurately record what might be of use to the Republic. His account begins with Vasco da Gama's voyage round the Cape, in 1497, the ninth and last voyage enumerated being that of Tristan de Acunha, who left Portugal in 1506. Among the places of trade in the East enumerated under his account of the ninth voyage was Tenasserim. He says,[3] "At Tenazar grows all the *verzi* (brazil), and it costs 1½ ducats the baar, equal to four *kantars*. This place, though on the coast, is on the mainland. The king is a Gentile; and thence come pepper, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, galanga, camphor that is eaten, and camphor that is not eaten. . . . This is indeed the first mart for spices in India."[4]

Towards the end of 1502, Ludovico de Varthema, a native of Bologna, set out on his travels to the East. After

1 In the Storia di Milione, prefacing the Il Milione di Marco Polo by Conte Geo. Batt. Baldelli Boni. 2 vols. Firenze, 1827, p. lvii., footnote: Amerigo Vespucci, son caractère, ses écrits (. . . .) sa vie et ses navigations, &c., par F. A. de Varnhagen, Lima, 1865, p. 78.

2 Relazione di Leonardo da Ca' Masser alla Serenissima Republica di Venezia sopra il Commercio dei Portoghesi nell' India dopo la scoperta del Capo di Buona Speranza." Archivo Storico Italiano, Append., tomo ii. Firenze, 1845, pp. 7–51.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

4 Yule's Glossary, p. 696.

an absence of nearly eight years he returned to Italy, and published his itinerary at Rome.[1] In it he professed to have visited Tenasserim, which he describes as "*Tarnassari*,[2] situated near to the sea;" and "it is a level place and well watered, and has a good port, that is a river on the side towards the north." Tenasserim, as already said, lies about thirty-seven miles inland from Mergui, *i.e.*, from the sea; and Mason[3] in his "Burma" describes its position as follows:—"Forty miles through a labyrinth of thickly wooded islets, that seem fresh from the womb of uncultivated nature, the voyageur comes suddenly at the head of the delta to a crescent of precipitous mountains skirted by the river at its base, and on the crest of a low ridge of hills on the opposite shore, which lies across the bend like an arrow on the bow, are seen the dilapidated battlements of the old city of Tenasserim." Captain R. Lloyd, writing in 1838,[4] says that at *Zediwon*, about eleven miles east from Mergui,[5] "the features of the country begin to change from a low mangrove land to one of moderate elevation," but beyond this, in the direction of Tenasserim, "the country becomes mountainous to the very edge of the river," but, here and there, there are spots of level ground occupied by small villages. He describes the town as situated where the river divides into two branches, the Great and Little Tenasserim, opposite to the point of confluence and on the left bank of the latter." And in the "Gazetteer of Burma"[6] it is said to stand on a rock, "and upon the sides and lower slopes of an irregular hill about 200 feet high, the surrounding country being a mass of small hills covered with dense forest." One of these so-

[1] Itinerario de Ludouico Varthema Bolognese nello Egypto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta & felice, nella Persia, nella India, & nella Ethopia. La fede, el riuere, & costumi de tutte le prefate Prouincie con Gratia & Priuilegio infra notato.. 4to. Stampato in Roma, M.D.X.

[2] Varthema, Libro tertio della India, folio lxvi–lxx.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[4] Journ. As. Soc., vol. vii. pt. ii. (1838), p. 1028.

[5] Preliminary Chart of the Frontier Series. Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Season 1877–78 and 1879–82.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 707.

called hills, however, is a mountain 2414 feet high.[1] Varthema's description of the position of *Tarnassari*, therefore, in no way agrees with the site of the old city. According to him, *Tarnassari* had a good port, that is a river on the side towards the north, the town being situated near to the sea, and on the left bank of the stream, whereas the present Tenasserim is thirty-seven miles from the sea, and the river flows from the north. If we suppose that he used the term *Tarnassari* in the same sense in which Gervaise[2] says it has been occasionally used, and as Nicolo di Conti used it, and meant the seaport Mergui, his description of the city as a level place, with a river on its side towards the north, is equally inapplicable. Mergui is built on and around a small hill 112 feet high, and is situated on the right bank of one of the mouths of the Tenasserim river, and faces the sea. The surrounding country, moreover, is undulating and hilly, and an island about 300 to 400 feet high faces the town, about half-a-mile distant from it, and forms the western side of the harbour of Mergui; and about five miles in a north-easterly direction, with intervening hilly ground, is the wooded eminence of Sandawut, 719 feet high, and eight miles from the town to the east is Natlaingtaung, 887 feet in height, while still farther on, sixteen miles, is the Minthantaung, 1053 feet high.[3] I dwell on these facts as in Dr. Badger's edition of Varthema's work[4] these discrepancies between Varthema's *Tarnassari* and the situations of Tenasserim and Mergui are not referred to, doubtless because Dr. Badger had no practical knowledge of the locality. However, as I have visited Mergui, and have gone up the Tenasserim river for some distance, although

1 In the Preliminary Chart of the G. T. S. Eastern Series, 1879–82, the bearings of this peak (Tenasserim Peak, No. 2) from Mergui are lat. 12° 2′ 58″ and long. 99° 1′ 6″, which is practically the position assigned to the village of Tenasserim by M'Carthy in his map of Siam.

2 Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam. Paris, 1688, pp. 14–15.

3 Preliminary Chart, G. T. S. of India, Season 1879–82.

4 Travels of Varthema, Hak. Soc. 1863.

not as far as the town of that name, I am in a position to state that Varthema's description of *Tarnassari* is in no way applicable to Mergui, and from the evidence I have adduced of travellers who have visited Tenasserim town, it is apparent that it does not apply to it. But apart from these considerations, there are many other details in his description of Tenasserim which conclusively prove that Varthema never visited the place, and that, as Colonel Yule has said, "this adventurer's account of Tenasserim is an imposture."[1]

Duarte Fernandez, who was sent in 1511, from Malacca by Alfonso d'Albuquerque as an ambassador to the king of Siam, sailed direct to the city of *Hudiá*,[2] and according to Galvano,[3] returned accompanied by a Siamese ambassador, and "passed ouer land towards the west unto the citie of Tanaçerim, standing upon the sea on the other side in 12 degrees, where they imbarked themselues in two ships, and sailed along the coast unto the citie of Malacca." This was, in all likelihood, the first occasion on which the route from Tenasserim to Ayuthia was traversed by a European.

Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, the second envoy sent by D'Albuquerque to Ayuthia, had as his companion Manuel Frageso, who went to report to D'Albuquerque on all matters, "merchandise, dresses, and customs of the land, and of the latitudes of the harbours." They proceeded in the first instance by sea to Taranque, and thence by land with horses and draught-oxen to the city of Sião, and on their return they reported that the peninsula was very narrow "on that side where the Chinese make their navigation,"[4] and that from thence it was only ten days' journey to the coast of Tenasserim, Trang, and Tavoy.

[1] Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 696.

[2] Correa, "Lendas da India," in the Coll. de Monumentos Ineditos, t. ii. pt. i. Lisboa, 1860, pp. 262–263. Commentarios do Grande Afonso d'Alboquerque, 396. Commentaries of D'Albuquerque, Hak. Soc., 1880, vol. iii. pp. 152–155.

[3] Discoveries of the World, Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 112.

[4] Commentarios, p. 399. Commentaries of D'Albuquerque, Hak. Soc., vol. iii. pp. 156–159.

Crawford[1] enumerates three routes across the mountains of the Malayan peninsula. The first, from Quedda to Singora or Songkla; the second, from Trang to Ligor or Lakon; and the third, from Pun-pin, opposite to Junk-Ceylon or Salang, to Xăija.[2] The Taranque to which the Portuguese ambassador proceeded was the Trang of this second route, situated on the coast between the islands of Lantar and Telibon.[3] There was also a fourth route from Quedda to Patani, in use by the representatives of the Dutch East India Company at the latter place, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The routes across the peninsula at Tenasserim are not mentioned by Crawford.

With regard to the statement, "on that side where the Chinese make their navigation," Groeveneveldt[4] relates that there is an account in the history of the Liang dynasty (502–556) of a place called Tun-sun, on the western side of the narrowest part of the Malay peninsula, that was the terminus of a trade route across it from the east, and along which the commerce of India and China was carried in those days, to escape the journey round the peninsula. According to this Chinese account, the town was famous for a wine made from a tree. This was doubtless the liquor made from *Nipa fructicans*, for which Tenasserim and Mergui were famous, and which Teixeira[5] said exceeded all other in goodness.

[1] Embassy to Siam, vol. ii. p. 154.

[2] In a footnote to Harris's Journey from Ligor to Bangkok, it is mentioned that "much trade and intercourse pass through the Bandon River, and thence by means of elephants between *Ch'haiya* and *Phoonga*, a town situated on the Bay of Bengal, on the continent to the north of Junk-Ceylon; the tin and other produce of which islands, whenever required, are conveyed by this route to Bankok" (p. 8).

[3] Captain James Low, who went in 1824 on a political mission to the Raja of Ligor in Siam, did not proceed to Ligor itself, but received the envoys of the chief of Ligor at Trang. The chief village at that time was *Khoan Taní*, and from it Ligor could be reached in seven stages. Tigers abounded on the route. Journ. As. Soc. Beng., vol. vii. pt. ii., 1838, p. 588.

[4] Verhandl. van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1877, Deel. xxxix. p. 119.

[5] Relaciones P. P. T. de los Reyes de Persia, de los Reyes de Harmuz, y de un Viage dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por terra. En Amberes, 1610, t. i. p. 17.

Harris[1] mentions that the Siamese call the portion of the main mountain range of the peninsula to the east of Mergui, *Samroiyot*, or the "three (*sam*) hundred (*roi*) peaks (*jot*)," a name which appears in Pallegoix's map as *Samroịjǒt*.[2] At Kĭu, where these mountains approach the sea, there are a number of rocky islands, mentioned by Kæmpfer as *Samajotn*, and at this point of the coast, which reminded him of Sweden, a pass crosses the mountains to Tenasserim, and apparently at a low altitude.[3] At the base of these mountains, on the Gulf of Siam, there is a village also called *Samroijǒt*, where a vessel, in which Harris was, stopped to take in water. To this village, or to Kĭu, all junks bound to China or Cochin-China steer, in order to take in good water before they strike due east across the Gulf of Siam. As the distance from Bangkok to Kĭu is only about 140 miles, and as the junks were not in a condition to proceed on their voyages to the east, until they had taken in water from the mountain-streams of *Samroijǒt*, they may be said to have begun their navigation from that point.

Another of D'Albuquerque's envoys, Ruy Nunez Da Cunha, who had been sent on an embassy to Pegu, sailed from Malacca in a junk, and among one of the cities at which the vessel called was Tenasserim.[4]

A Florentine, Giovanni di Niccola, called Da Empoli, a worthy and famous merchant and a man of many virtues, visited the Straits of Malacca, in 1511, and, while ashore at Pedir, whither he had been sent by Alfonso D'Albuquerque, at the danger of his life, he learned from the inhabitants that ships of *Tanazzar* traded with that port; and again in 1514, that *Tanazzari* and *Sarnau*[5] (Ayuthia)

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] In a footnote to Harris's journey, by the unknown editor, these mountains are said to be the Pensels of Portuguese maps.

[3] In M'Carthy's map, a pass 750 feet high is indicated at the above locality.

[4] Coll. of Voyages and Travels (Thomas Osborne). London, 1745, vol. ii. p. 378. Galvano's Discoveries of the World, Hak. Soc., 1862, p. 114.

[5] "Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli a Leonardo suo Padre intorno al Viaggio da lui fatto a Malacca,

produced all the finest benzoin, storax, and lac better than that of Martaman [1] (Martaban).

In 1516 Duarte Coelho [2] was sent to Ayuthia with letters and presents from the governor of Malacca to the king of Siam, in the hope that, by a new alliance with Siam, Malacca might be repeopled, and the trading profits of the Mohammedans ruined. He was well received at Ayuthia, and after the letter and presents had been presented, the alliance that had been concluded with D'Albuquerque some years before was renewed; and as evidence of this, Coelho, with the sanction of the king, erected a wooden crucifix in a prominent place in the city, with the arms of Portugal carved, or painted on it.

The next traveller to mention Tenasserim, among the more prominent describers of the place, was Duarte Barbosa,[3] a cousin of Magellan's. He spent some years at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Eastern seas. He mentions that in his time ships of the enterprising merchants of Tenasserim were to be seen at Cape Guardafui and at Ravel, and that the merchants of Bengal sent large junks to that port. He says, "from the kingdom of Peigu as far as a city which has a seaport, and is named Tanasery, there are a hundred leagues. In this city there are many Moorish and Gentile merchants, who deal in all sorts of goods, and own ships with which they navigate to Bengal, Malaca, and other parts. In the inland parts of this kingdom there grows much good benjuy, which is a resin of trees which the Moors call luban javi,[4] and it is of two kinds, that is to say, one which does not smell except in the fire, and the

e frammenti di Altere Lettere del Medesimo aggiuntavi La Vita di esso Giovanni scritta Da Girolamo da Empoli suo zio." Arch. Storico. Ital. Append. t. iii. Firenze, 1846, p. 80.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[2] De Barros, Decad. iii., Liv. ii., folio 35–36. Hist. Ind. Orient. Arthus., 1608, p. 253. Hist. des Ind. Orient. et Occid., par P. J. P. Maffei. Paris, 1665, p. 273.

[3] Ramusio, Primo Vol. 1550, p. 317. Livro Duarte Barbosa, No. vii. col. de Noticias, &c. t. 11. Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hak. Soc., 1866, p. 188.

[4] *Lubān-javi*, *i.e.*, Java Frankincense, Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 65.

other of much scent, of which the genuine storax is made in the Levant, before extracting from it the oil, which in the Levant is extracted from it. And many ships of Moors and from other parts congregate at this port of Tanasary, and bring them copper, quicksilver, vermilion, scarlet cloth, silks, coloured velvets from Mekkah, saffron, coral wrought and in strings,[1] rose-water from Mekkah in little bottles of tinned copper, and it is sold by weight with the bottle; opium, Cambay stuffs, and all these goods fetch a high price at this place."

He also records that the town of Ravel in Surat traded with Tenasserim in all sorts of spices, drugs, silks, musk, benzoin, and porcelain.

In the "Sommario de Regni, Citta et Popoli Orientale," it is stated by Ramusio[2] that the Siamese on the Tenaçarim side traded with Pacem, Pedir, Quedda, Pegu, Bengal, and Gujarát. The province was governed by a viceroy, who was perpetual captain or hereditary governor, lord of many peoples, and of a country abounding in all kinds of provisions, a reputation which Mergui long enjoyed, and still has.

Faria y Sousa[3] relates that when Don Stefano da Gama, son of Vasco da Gama, was governor of Goa, a fleet of three Portuguese ships, manned by eighty men, went in search of an island of gold supposed to exist on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, a fable which, so far as European nations were concerned, may have arisen from Nicolo di Conti's statement that *Andamania* (the Andaman Islands) meant the Island of Gold.[4]

Sailing to the fabulous island, the report regarding which it is quite possible they may have used as a blind to the

[1] This was doubtless red coral, which is much prized in the East; but a coral of the genus *Antipathes*, yielding the black coral, abounds in the Mergui Archipelago, and is exported from Mergui to Rangoon, &c., where it is used to make Buddhist rosaries, in the same way that another *Antipathes* found in the Red Sea is used for Mahommedan rosaries.

[2] Ramusio, primo vol., 1550, p. 361.

[3] The Portuguese Asia, 3 vols., 1695. Vol. ii. p. 29.

[4] This myth expired very slowly, and existed down to the end of the

real object of their expedition, the crews of the three ships were no sooner in Tenasserim waters, which until recent years had long been a favourite resort of pirates, owing to the hiding-places afforded by the numerous islands, threw off the mask and became a scourge to the commerce of the entire coast, finding the gold of which they were in quest in the holds of the vessels they plundered, and in the pockets of the crews they frequently massacred. These were doubtless the pirates of whom Pinto heard, in January, 1545, on his way to Martaban, and who had then four well-rigged *foists* with which they had so effectually stopped all trade, that the custom-houses at Tenasserim, Mergui, and other ports, became so impoverished that representations were made to the king of Siam to put a stop to the intolerable mischief.[1]

In a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian Seas, written in Arabic by Sidi-ali Kapudan (captain of the fleet of Sultan Sulaimān, the legislator of the Red Sea), who was cast ashore in India in a severe storm, *Tanassari* is frequently mentioned in descriptions of the monsoons.[2]

Cesare dei Fedrici,[3] the Venetian traveller, to whom the

seventeenth century. Dr. Careri's (Giro del Mondo, t. iii. p. 290) notice of it is among the last, but he gives the English the credit of having originated it, but when, he does not say. The story related by him was that an English ship having been driven to take shelter from a storm, not in the Andamans, but in the Nicobars, to the south of them, a native, who had taken some fresh water on board the ship, spilt some on the anchor, the iron of which was turned into gold wherever the water had touched it. The crew, after they had learned from the native that the water came from a well in the island, killed him! This report of the gold-producing quality of the water, Gemelli Careri says he had been told on high authority, had led the Dutch to appropriate the Nicobars towards the end of the seventeenth century.

[1] Pinto, *op. cit.*, fol. 173–174.

[2] Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. iii. (1834), p. 545, vol. v. (1836), p. 441, vol. viii. pt. ii. (1839), p. 823; translated by Joseph von Hammer, Baron Purgestall. See also Géographie d'Abulféda, par MM. Reinaud et Stanislas Guyard, 2 tomes, Paris, 1848–83, p. clxvi.; also Journ. China Branch Royal As. Soc., vol. xx. p. 33.

[3] Viaggio di M. Cesare de i Fedrici nell' India Orientale, et oltra l'India: Nelquale si contengono cose

kingdom of Siam and its capital were known as Sion, mentions that on one of his voyages between Malacca and Pegu (1568), he was told by the pilot of the vessel that they were not far from a city called *Tenasari*, in the kingdom of Pegu, and Fedrici says that at the time they were sailing among many islands and uninhabited rocks. The city or town, he states, was known to some of his Portuguese fellow-travellers, and he goes on to say, "This citie of right belongeth to the kingdom of Sion, which is situate on a great river's side, which commeth out of the kingdom of Sion, and where this river runneth into the sea there is a village called Mergi, in whose harbour every yeere there lode some ships with verzina, nipa, and beniamin, a few cloves, nutmegs, and maces, which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest merchandise there is verzin and nypa, which is an excellent wine."

Twenty-seven men from the vessel he was in, along with himself, left in a boat to visit Mergui; but they lost their way, and after pulling along the coast for eight days, among countries uninhabited and desert islands, during which they subsisted on a little rice which one of the men had taken with him and on 144 turtle-eggs, they met, on the ninth day, with some fishermen in the Gulf of Tavoy.[1] They safely reached the town of that name, where they expected to find their ship, but it had not arrived. They went in search of it, and found that it had encountered opposing winds, and that the people they had left on board had been in serious straits for want of water

dilettevoli de i riti, et de i costumi de quei paesi, Et insieme si descriueno le spetiarie, droghe, gioie, e perle, che d' essi si cauano. Con alcuni auertimenti vtilissimi a quelli, che tal viaggio volessero fare. Venetia, 1587. The Voyage and Trauaile of M. Cæsar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East Indies, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. . . . Written at sea in the Hercules of London, comming from Turkie, the 25 March 1588, out of Italian, by T. H. London, 1588. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. (1599). Ramusio, vol. iii. 1606, &c.

[1] Tavoy, Tavay, or Tavai, is a local name having a wide distribution in Polynesia, as islands of this name occur in New Zealand and the Hawaiian group. J. R. Logan, Journ. Ind. Arch., &c., vol. ii. p. 481, *footnote*.

and food, as Fedrici and his party had carried off the only boat.

In the "Lusiads" of Camoens, written between 1553–69, Tenasserim is mentioned as part of Siam.[1]

Linschoten,[2] who resided at Goa from September 1583 until the end of 1588, in his account of the lands of Arakan, Pegu, and Siam, describes the town of Martaban as the beginning of Siam. He compares the conformation of the Malay peninsula to an arm, which in the broadest place is from the one coast unto the other fifty miles, and in some places ten miles, "that is, where the towne of Tanassarien lyeth." He then touches on its political history, and gives a more detailed account of the position of Tenasserim as follows:—"From Martavan[3] coasting the shore southwardes (are) 60. myles, and then 30. myles Southeast and by East: Betwéene two Islandes the coast runneth inwards like a bow, wherein lyeth the town of Tanassarien, under 11. degrees from this Towne as (I) said before, are but 10. miles over by lande to the other side of the Coast: . . . The Portingalles have great traffique unto this towne of Tanassarien, and thether commeth great (store of) merchandise out of Pegu and Sian, for it is like a staple. Likewise there is much Wine brought thether, which is made of Cocus or Indian Nuttes,[4] and is called Nype de Tanassaria, that is Aqua-composita of Tanassaria, for that it is distilled water that procéedeth from the Indian nuts. and of it selfe hath the strength and vertue that our Aqua-composita hath, and is there called Nype: Although they still Nype in divers places of India, specially in Goa, yet is this of Tanassaria more estéemed, and it is better, which is carried into all places (of India) in great pottes of Martavan:[5] The women of India are very desirous thereof,

[1] Os Lusiadas. Englished by Burton (1880), vol. ii. p. 404, canto x. stanza 125.

[2] The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies. 2 vols. Hak. Soc., 1885, vol. i. p. 101.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[4] Not the cocoa-nut, but *Nipa fructicans*, as is well-known.

[5] Yule says (Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 428), "This name was given to vessels of a peculiar pottery, of

although for modesties sake before men they will not drinke it, but secretly (by themselves) they doe make good cheare (and gossoppe) therewith. Tanassaria is a kingdom of it selfe, and in time past under the subiection of Sian."

According to Linschoten, the eastern sea-board of the Bay of Bengal had lying along it "Aracan, Pegu, and Sian," and the inhabitants are described as "in forme, manner, and visage, much like those of China, onely one difference they have, (which is) that they are somewhat whiter than the Bengalon, and somewhat browner then the men of China;" and he adds, "The pictures of the Peguan is to be séene by the figures of the Indians, among Saint Thomas Christians."

In his description of the coast of Coromandel and the kingdom of Narsingha he says that "from these coastes (Coromandel, &c.) they use great trafique into Bengala, Pegu, Sian, and Malacca, that is to say, to the opposite coast of the bay."

In reading the description of Linschoten, one is astonished at the accuracy of his information, and at the clear conception he had formed of the general characteristics of countries he had never visited. He must have very carefully sifted the various accounts accessible to him, and exercised a painstaking selection in those communicated to him by the travellers, native and Portuguese, he met at Goa. He speaks of deriving his information not only "hy the daily trafficking of the Portingalles out of India,' but also from the Peguans themselves, "whereof many dwell in India, some of them being Christians."

From the way in which Linschoten speaks of the narrowness of the peninsula at Tenasserim, in connection with the trade of Siam, and his statement that great store of merchandise reached Tenasserim from Siam, it would appear that the route across the peninsula was, in his time,

very large size, and glazed, which were famous all over the East for many centuries, and were imported from Martaban. They were sometimes called *Pegu jars.*"

one of considerable importance in the commerce of the East.

Shortly after Linschoten arrived at Goa (1584), the English merchants John Newbury and Ralph Fitch, with their two companions, were conducted into that factory as prisoners of the Portuguese. Ralph Fitch did not visit Tenasserim, but, in 1587, he sailed from Pegu to Malacca, and mentions that he passed by many parts of Pegu . . . and the islands of Tenaseri.[1]

Abul Fazl 'Allami, in discussing the wages of marines, among other matters relating to the Admiralty of Akbar, mentions incidentally that Nákhudas at *Danahsarí* (Tenasserim) got half as much again as they received at Cambay; and he has still a further reference to it, as he mentions it along with Acheen as one of the principal sources of *'U'd*, or the so-called wood-aloes.[2]

In the narrative of the first voyage of Sir James Lancaster, by Edmund Barker, his lieutenant, it is recorded that when the ships were lying at Ceylon, in December, 1592, they were doing so to await the arrival of some fleets of merchantmen among which were Portuguese ships from Tenasserim, a locality described as "a great baie to the southward of Martabam, in the kingdom of Siam." These ships of Tenasserim are stated to have carried, among other commodities, rice and nipa wine to serve the *carraks*[3] that usually departed from Cochin for Portugal by the middle of January.[4]

[1] Hakluyt Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., 1599, p. 262. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. ii., 1625, pp. 1730–1744. Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. ix. (1811), p. 422.

[2] Ain-i-Akbarí, vol. i. p. 281.

For the most recent information bearing on the species of trees yielding the substance called wood-aloes, see Dr. Geo. Watt's Dict. of the Economic Products of India, vol. i. (1885) pp. 279–281.

I brought back with me, from the Mergui Archipelago, some herbarium specimens of the tree which the Selungs asserted produced wood-aloes. I submitted them to my friend Dr. George King, Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, who pronounced them to be *Aquillaria agallocha*, Roxburghe. The wood sold in the Mergui bazaar is obtained from the Archipelago.

[3] A *carrack*, "a kind of vessel of burden from the Middle Ages down to the end of the seventeenth century." Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 126.

[4] The first Voyage made to East *India* by Master *James Lancaster*,

Master John Davis,[1] of Arctic fame, and who "thereby a mighty sea immortalised his name," set out from Middelburg, in the Netherlands, on the 15th March, 1598, and returned thither in 1600. In his narrative and journal of his voyage he records that on the 18th October 1599,[2] "wee shaped our course for the Citie of Tanasserin, for it is a place of great trade; the five and twentieth we anchored among the Islands in the bay. . . . Being here we were very much crossed with bad winds, so that wee could not recover the Citie, for it standeth twentie leagues within the Bay."

By the end of the sixteenth century, Siam (Ayuthia) and Tenasserim had become known in England to merchants generally, as we find them mentioned in Foulke Grevil's report[3] on the memorial submitted to Queen Elizabeth, in 1600, stating the reasons why English merchants might trade with the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms and dominions as were not subject to the king of Spain and Portugal.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the English were well known in the seas of the Malayan peninsula,[4] and were making their power felt among the native states. Their counsel was sought by some: as an illustration of this may be cited the action of the Sultan of Acheen in consulting Sir Thomas Lancaster, while he was at that port, in 1602, regarding an embassy that had arrived from

now Knight, for the Merchants of *London*, Anno 1600, with foure tall Shippes, (to wit), the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and *Susan*, and a *Victualler* called the *Guest*. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, lib. iii. pp. 147–164. Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., to the East Indies. Hak. Soc., Clements R. Markham, 1877, pp. 15–16.

[1] The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator, edited by Captain A. H. Markham, Hak. Soc., 1878.

In a document preserved in the Public Record Office, London, bearing date 1652, and professing to be a narrative of the settlements sustained by the Dutch, it is said that the latter, by the aid of Captain Davis, in 1595 discovered Sumatra and Java, and settled a factory at Bantam; and the English did so at the same time, the Dutch on one side and the English on the other.

[2] Davis' Voyages, &c., p. 154.

[3] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial East Indies, 1513–1616 (1862), p. 105.

[4] Calendar of State Papers, C. E. I., par. 314, 328, &c.

the king of Siam.[1] Others, to whom their courage had become known, occasionally appealed to them for assistance when pressed by their enemies the Portuguese, whose power had already begun to wane. In 1604, the state of Johore, which has ever cultivated friendly relations with this country, was in great difficulties, as the capital was besieged by the governor or captain of Malacca, Dom André Furtado de Mendoça.[2] The Sultan appealed for assistance to the English, who dispatched two ships, which "relieved it and sent Furtado's armament to the devil; so that in all these parts they would," it is said, have given the English "their property and their very souls, if they could."[3]

The Jesuits, on the other hand, were making every effort in their power to win souls from the devil, and were not permitting any ground to remain fallow, if it offered the slightest prospect of a harvest to their faith. Being thus always on the outlook for new pastures, Siam was not forgotten; and, in 1606, the first Portuguese Jesuit Father, Balthazar de Sequeira, visited the country. He was selected to proceed to Siam, as he was a man of virtue and prudence, well advanced in years, and with experience gained in Pegu, whither he had been sent in the end of the sixteenth century by Nicholas Pimenta, visitor of the Jesuits in India. He went, as a pioneer, to survey the field and to find out all that might be of use to the Order, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and what likelihood there was of their receiving the Word of God. He set out on this mission from St. Thomas, in the year 1606, and proceeded by sea to Tenasserim. He then journeyed overland to the capital, "partly by goodly Rivers, partly over cragged and rough Hills and Forrests, stored

[1] First Voyage made to East India by Master James Lancaster, Purchas, vol. i., 1625. The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt., Hak. Soc., 1877, p. 87.

[2] Journ. Straits Branch Roy. As. Soc., June (1885), p. 129.

Dom André Furtado de Mendoça was appointed captain of Malacca about 1603.

[3] Calendar State Papers, C. E. I., 338.

with Rhinocerots, Elephants, and Tigers (one of which tare in pieces one of the company before his eyes), unto Odia."[1]

In the following year (1607), an embassy was sent from the king of Siam to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, to lodge a complaint against some Portuguese resident in Pegu. The three ambassadors did not set sail from Ayuthia, but first crossed the peninsula to Tenasserim,[2] where they embarked, as had been done by the Portuguese envoy nearly a century before. In the same year the Siamese had resolved to send an embassy to the Dutch, and, in a letter written at Bantam by Gabriel Towerson, on the 16th December of that year, it is stated that sixteen men of Siam had arrived there on an embassy to the king of Holland, but it is added that "the admiral (Matelief) gave them very little countenance, being angry with the merchant that brought them; doubtful whether he will take them to Holland or send them back again."[3] We learn, however, elsewhere[4] that Admiral Matelief did receive the ambassadors, and that they went to Holland with him in his ship *L'Orange*, which left Bantam on the 28th January, 1608, and arrived at its destination on the 2nd September of that year. On the 11th of the same month, the ambassadors were received in audience at the Hague, when they presented a number of valuable gifts to Prince Maurice.[5]

The Dutchman, Captain John Saris, to whom the East India Company intrusted the settlement (1613) of their first factory in Japan, resided in Bantam from October 1605, to October 1609. He was familiar with Tenasserim, and, in a report[6] written by him, he described it as a port

[1] Pierre du Jarric, Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum, 1615, pp. 432–436. Hist. des Choses plus Memorables advenves tant ez Indes Orientales, &c., Bovrdeaus, (1614), tome iii. pp. 887–891. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. ii. (1625), p. 1744; *ibid.*, vol. v. (1626), p. 491.

[2] R. A. C. de Renneville, Recueil des Voyages, tome v. (1725), p. 155.

[3] Calendar State Papers, C. E. I., 1513–1616, p. 163.

[4] Rec. des Voyages, &c., t. vi. (1725), p. 206.

[5] Rec. des Voyages, &c., t. vi. p. 243.

[6] Purchas, vol. i. lib. iv. p. 392.

of call for the Guzerat junks on their way to Siam (Ayuthia), the first port they touched at being the Maldive Islands, where, among other productions of the sea, they doubtless obtained cowries. He also mentioned the land journey between Tenasserim and Ayuthia, and that it could be accomplished in twenty days, which, however, is ten days in excess of the time generally required. At Tenasserim, he said, there were always five to six fathoms of water, a statement which proves that by Tenasserim probably Mergui was meant, for that depth of water is certainly not always to be found at the former place.[1]

Towards the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, a prince of the Taungu dynasty sat on the throne of Burma. Great success had attended his arms, as he had crushed the power of the Portuguese in Pegu, and rendered Martaban tributary to him by 1614–15. He then continued his conquering course to Tavoy which he reduced to subjection, and, elated with his success, he attempted to gain possession of Tenasserim,[2] which his forces under the command of his brother attacked both by land and sea. They were, however, successfully resisted by the Siamese, aided by four galliots, manned by forty Portuguese and seventy slaves, commanded by Christopher Rebello, an outlaw from Cochin.[3] Faria y Sousa says that the king of Siam, to whom Tenasserim belonged, was so pleased with the conduct of the Portuguese, that he highly honoured them, and gave them permission to build a fort in any part of his kingdom they might

[1] Tenasserim river is subject to the influence of the tides, which at Mergui have a rise and fall of eighteen feet. At the village of Tenasserim there is a rise and fall of only eight feet, but the influence of the tides is felt so little beyond that point that it is of small service to boat traffic. The distance from Mergui to Tenasserim and back may be accomplished in two tides.

[2] Phayre, Hist. of Burma, p. 131.

[3] Decada xiii. da Hist. da India. composta por Antonio Bocarro. Pub. de ord. da Cl. de Sc. Moraes, Pol. e Bellas-Lettras da Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, e sob a dir. de Rod. José de Lima Felmer. Pt. i. p. 185, 1876.

choose to select,[1]—an offer, however, which they did not accept.

William Methold,[2] who was entertained as a servant of the East India Company on the 25th September, 1615, and subsequently appointed principal on the Coromandel Coast after having served some time at Bantam, was apparently the first to realise the importance of the trade of Siam, and of the overland route from Mergui to Ayuthia, to merchants on the Coromandel coast. He had himself carried on trade with Tenasserim, and had therefore a practical knowledge of the subject. In 1619, he wrote as follows: "Tanassery lyeth next to Pegu, a small kingdom, and tributary to Syam, from which place this is but the port, and that only to the inhabitants of this gulf (Bengal), for we find a way with our shipping into the river of Syam." He also mentions that "the merchants of Golconda traffiqued with their ships ordinarily with Mocha, to Acheen in Sumatra, to Arakan, Pegu, and Tannassery, returning the following April, and that the ships generally left in September. To Tannassery they carried red cotton yarne, red, white Beethyles,[3] paintings of several sorts, befitting that countries wear, and landing them at Tannassery, carry them from thence to Siam, 14 days journey overland, from whence, by the like conveyance, they bring all sorts of China commodities, as Porcelain, Satins, Damasks, Lankeens,[4] Silk, Lignum Aloes, Beniaimin of Cambodia and

[1] The Portuguese in Asia, or the Hist. of the Disc. and Conq. of India by the Portuguese, &c. 3 vols. London, 1695. Translated into English by John Stevens. Vol. iii. p. 197.

[2] Relations of the Kingdom of Golchonda, and other Neighbouring Nations within the Gulf of Bengala Arreccan, Pegu, Tannassery, &c., and the English Trade in these Parts, by Master William Methold. Purchas, vol. v. (1826), pp. 993–1007.

[3] Yule says (Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 68), "Betteela, Beatelle, &c., s. The name of a kind of muslin .... This seems to be a Sp. and Port, word, *beatilla* or *beatilha*, for 'a veil,' derived, according to Cobarruvias, from "certain *beatas*, who invented and used the like." *Beata* is a *religieuse*."

[4] This term is a corruption of *Nankeen*, which in the (Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 471) is defined as a cotton stuff, originally imported from China, and named from the city of Nanking.

great store of tin, and a wood die withal called sappan Wood, the same as we call Brazil."

Phillip Baldæus, minister of the word of God in Ceylon, has also put on record some details regarding the trade of Tenasserim during his day, about the middle of the seventeenth century. He says, "From hence (Pulicat) to *Arracan, Pegu,* and *Tanassery,* you pay eight or ten *per cent.* for freight of pepper, sandalwood, stuffs, steel, and iron, and make your returns in gold, rubies of *Ava,* gummi-lacca, long white-pepper, lead, &c. Betwixt *Tanassery* and *Occeda* (Quedda) towards *Malacca,* are the harbours of *Tanangar* (Trang), *Sencaza,* and *Perach* (Perak), opposite to *Achem,* whither they trade with vast profit, and bring back abundance of tin, a commodity which is in much request with the *Moors,* wherewith they tin their copper vessels." [1]

As an illustration of the high reputation of Tenasserim as a place of trade in the seventeenth century, the Spaniard Dominick Fernandez Navarette (1647–73) records that he was informed at Masulipatam by the captain of the vessel in which he sailed from Malacca, that the voyage having been unprofitable, he intended to make amends for the great expense he had been at by a voyage to Tenasery, or some other place.[2]

The town was thus so well known in those days, that it began to be described in geographical works[3] of the period as a town of India beyond the Ganges, and one of the chief towns in the kingdom of Siam, and in the mouth of the Gangetic gulf, in the middle, between Siam to the north and Junk-Ceylon to the south.

Mandelslo,[4] in the fourth decade of the seventeenth

[1] Beschr. der Ost-Ind. Kunsten, &c., p. 154. Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. iii. (1704), p. 588.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 309.

[3] Ferrarius' Lexicon Geo. (1670), p. 396, *Iudia seu etiam Odiaa.*

[4] The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein. . . . whereto are added the travels of J. A. de Mandelslo. Begun in the year 1638, and finished in 1640, &c., &c. Written originally by A. Olearius, Secretary to the Embassy. Faithfully rendered into English by John Davies of Kid-

century, mentions Tenasserim and Mergui among the principal places in the kingdom of Siam, and Tenasserim as a town in which the Portuguese carried on a great trade. He describes the king of Siam as engaging in trade, and as having for that purpose his factors stationed at Pegu, Auva (Ava), Jangoma (Xeing-mai), Langsiaugh (Luang Praban), and on the coast of Coromandel, but principally in China.

After the middle of the seventeenth century, the narrow neck of land between Mergui and the Gulf of Siam, was the highway to Ayuthia from the east, as was pointed out by Tavernier in the passage already quoted from that author. Being the shortest route from India to the capital of Siam, it was traversed by ambassadors, missionaries, and servants of the East India Company, who sent their letters from Ayuthia to India *via Tenasaree*. But after Tenasserim was conquered by the Burmese, in 1767, this once well-known and often-used route was abandoned and forgotten by European nations.[1] This rapid sketch of what was known about Tenasserim by these old travellers and writers is evidence that the place was formerly of considerable importance.

When the English, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, resolved to open up commercial relations with Siam, neither Mergui nor Tenasserim was selected, but the port of Patani, situated on the eastern side of the

welly. London, 1662, pp. 122, 130. In Mouhot's Travels it is stated (vol. i. p. 56) by the editor that Mandelslo visited the capital of Siam in 1537. The date and the statement are obviously erroneous, as Mandelslo did not go farther to the east than Ceylon, where, in 1639, he probably gained his facts regarding Siam.

[1] The late Dr. Thomas Oldham, director of the Geological Survey of India, marched across the boundary between the British and Siamese possessions to the east of Tenasserim, and there found a path leading into Siam, and met several people going and returning. The pass along which the path led did not attain any great elevation (not more than 650 feet above the sea), but the hills on either side were considerably higher (2000 feet, with points 3000). Dr. Oldham's account was published by the Government of India, in 1856, and has been reprinted in a collection of Geological papers on Burma issued at Rangoon, in 1882.

Malayan peninsula. It was a small state, then as now tributary to Siam, and was bounded on the north by the Siamese province of Singora or Songkla, to the west by Quedda, to the south by Kālantan, and to the east by the Gulf of Siam. The tribute, however, was insignificant, as it consisted only of a flower of gold sent once a year, accompanied by some silk stuffs and "scaret," the latter being scarlet-bound cloth.[1]

In all the old voyages, and in the Records of the East India Company, the capital was usually spoken of as Patani, or with the terminal syllable slightly modified; but from Pallegoix[2] we learn that it was known in his day as Tani, a term recently used by some travellers[3] and geographers.[4] The origin of the name Patani is given in a somewhat childish story in the *Malay Chronicle*,[5] in which it is said that news having reached Siam that Patani was a very fine country, a son of the king of Siam determined to conquer it, and add it to the dominions of his father. He invaded it with a large army, killed the reigning Raja in single combat, and reduced all the inhabitants to subjection. His astrologers were then commanded to select a suitable site for a city, which they did, fixing on a place by the seashore where a fisherman resided, who had a son called Tani. The king approved of the site, and ordered that the name of the city should be called after the fisherman, who went by the name of "the father of Tani," or, in other words, Pa Tani!

In the beginning of the sixteenth century,[6] it was a great place of trade, and later on we read of its being resorted to by ships from Surat, Goa, and the Coromandel

1 Mandelslo's Travels, p. 134.

2 Dict. Ling. Thai., p. 780.

3 On the Patani. By W. Cameron. Journ. Straits Branch, Royal As. Soc., June 1883, pp. 120, 142.

4 J. M'Carthy, Proc. Roy. Geo. Soc., vol. x. No. 3, New Monthly Series, March 1888, pp. 117–121.

5 Malay Annals, *l. c.*, pp. 320–321.

6 Pigafetta, in Magellan's first voyage, Hak. Soc., 1874, heard of the fame of Patani at Timor, p. 155.

Coast, and by junks from Japan and China. It was while on his way to Patani that that distinguished seaman John Davis, whose name is perpetuated in Davis Straits, lost his life, on the 27th December, 1605, in a fight with some Japanese pirates.[1]

Patani had a reputation as a port in which fresh provisions were always to be had, and Mandelslo says that the inhabitants "had for every moneth several Fruits, and Hens that lay twice a day, by reason whereof the Country abounds in all sorts of provisions for the belly, as Rice, Bif, Goat, Geese, Ducks, Hens, Capons, Peacocks, Deer, Hares, Cunnies, Fowl and Venison, and especially in Fruits, whereof they have above a hundred several sorts."[2]

The Portuguese, however, were the first to open up trade with Patani, as their intercourse with it began in 1517,[3] soon after Duarte Coelho's mission to the capital of Siam. It was visited on a number of occasions by Pinto, who, in 1538, found three hundred Portuguese in the port.[4]

The Dutch settled at Patani ten years before the English, their factory being established in 1602,[5] the year the Dutch East India Company received its first charter. Their factory was burned by the Japanese three years after their arrival, but this did not deter them from remaining, and for many years they were the chief traders, carrying on a vigorous commerce with Bantam.

Owing to a variety of causes, the trade of Patani, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, fell off, and the port was abandoned by European merchants in favour of the capital of Siam, Malacca, and Batavia.[6]

[1] Voyages of John Davis the Navigator, p. 181.

[2] Mandelslo, *l. c.*, p. 134.

[3] Portuguese Asia, vol. i. pp. 222–223.

[4] Peregrinaçoẽs, fol. 35.

[5] Historia Indiæ Orientalis, &c. M. Gotardo Arthus. Coloniæ Agrippinæ (1608), p. 337. De Jonge, De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-India, Deel. iii. (1865), p. 397.

[6] A New Account of the East Indies, by Alex. Hamilton. London, 1744, vol. ii. p. 157. At the present day it carries on a small trade with Bangkok, Singapore, and the neighbouring states, the exports being "tin, lead, gutta, salt fish, tiles, and earthenware." Cameron, *l. c.*

The first French missionaries to Siam entered the country by Mergui and Tenasserim in 1662,[1] and thirteen years afterwards, the ambassador of Louis the Fourteenth approached the capital in pomp by the Menam river.

A vigorous effort, extending over a quarter of a century, was made by the French to convert the kingdom to Christianity and to establish French supremacy, but their ambitious projects ended in disaster.

[1] Pallegoix, Descr. Roy. Thai ou Siam, t. ii. p. 103.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF TRADE WITH SIAM.

WHEN Captain William Keeling visited Bantam in 1608, he met there an ambassador from the king of Siam.[1] He asked this dignitary to dinner, and learned from him some facts regarding the commerce and products of Siam. He was told by the ambassador that "a thousand Clothes red, would vent in his Countrey in two dayes, and great quantitie yeerely; they clothing their Elephants and Horses therewith." Gold, he was informed, was abundant, and of so good quality as to be worth three times its weight in silver, and that precious stones occurred in great quantities and were cheap. He was also assured by his guest that the king would account it a great happiness "to have commerce with so great a king as his Majestie of *England*, with whom," the diplomatic ambassador understood, "the king of Holland was not comparable."

Captain William Keeling returned to England, on the 10th May, 1610, and on his arrival doubtless reported to his masters, the Honourable East India Company, the glowing accounts of the ambassador. But, two years before this, their attention had probably been attracted to Siam by the arrival of the Siamese ambassadors at the court of Prince Maurice, the governor of the United Provinces of Holland and Zealand.

[1] A Iournall of the third Voyage to the East India, set out by the Company of the Merchants, trading in those parts: in which Voyage were imployed three Ships, viz., the *Dragon*, the *Hector*, and the *Consent*, and in them the number of three hundred and ten persons, or thereabouts: written by Captain Wm. Keeling, Chiefe Commander thereof. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, p. 195.

These were apparently the circumstances that determined the Directors of the East India Company, in 1610, to make the opening up of commercial relations with Siam one of the most important objects of the seventh voyage. Accordingly, the ship *Globe*,[1] commanded by Captain Anthony Hippon, and having on board Peter (Williamson) Floris, Adam Denton, Thomas Essington, and Lucas Antheuniss as merchants, set sail from the "Downs" on the 5th February, 1611, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived off the island of Ceylon, in the following August.

In the same year, the Company decided to trade with Japan, and a letter announcing their intention to do so was written to William Adams, then resident in Japan, and was intrusted to the officers of the *Globe*, who were to see it forwarded from Bantam.

In the following April, the ships of the eighth voyage, the *Clove*, *Thomas*, and *Hector*, under the command of John Saris, and bearing a letter from King James the First to the Emperor of Japan, left the shores of England for the far East. From Bantam, where the *Clove* arrived in October, 1612, it sailed on the 14th January, 1613, for Japan, and reached the port of Hirado on the 12th June, 1613. The course of the ship destined for Siam has now to be followed.

From Ceylon the *Globe* went to Pulicat, where the Dutch had established a factory two years before.[2] After a narrow escape in landing through the surf, in which Floris and another (Robert Browne) were nearly drowned, they received a friendly welcome from the native Shāhbandar, who provided them with a house; but the Dutch president opposing their efforts to trade, they betook themselves to their ship, and proceeded to Pettipolli, where the

1 The seuenth Voyage; made in the *Globe* into East-India, set out vnder the Command of Captaine Anthony Hippon, obserued and written by Nathaniel Marten, Masters Mate in the said Shippe. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, pp. 314–319.

2 De Jonge's De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie, D. iii., 1865, p. 399.

Dutch had been even longer established than at Pulicat.[1] Here again they were well received by the natives, but not remaining any time, sailed to Masulipatam, where the Dutch had also been before them, and where they met with an equally good reception. Robert Browne, after his narrow escape at Pulicat, died at Masulipatam, on the 8th September, 1612.[2]

The *Globe* next sailed for Bantam, where George Chauncey, one of their number, was left to dispose of some goods, and it then continued on its course to the kingdom of Siam. The first port in that kingdom to which it went was Patani, a small state, under its native queen or prince, but tributary to the supreme Government at Ayuthia. What now remains of this state is under the governor of the neighbouring state of Singora,[3] which in the early part of the seventeenth century could not compare with Patani in importance as a place of trade.

The *Globe* anchored in the harbour of Patani on the 23nd June, 1612.[4] The factors met with an "honourable reception by the queen and country people, but with some disgust and distaste from the Dutch,"[5] who had been there since 1602; and a few days after their arrival they went ashore in great state,[6] taking with them a present, and also a letter from James the First laid on a gold basin.

The factors, notwithstanding their good reception, experienced much difficulty in obtaining permission to build a fire-proof warehouse, but they were at last permitted to do so, a piece of ground sixty yards long and forty broad having been given to them, on which they erected a house, "eight fathome long and foure broad."[7] They had, however, to pay an unreasonable sum for it, but agreed to the terms imposed "in hope of future benefit." Sickness much afflicted them, "as if the plague had beene in our ship,"

[1] De Jonge; *op. cit.*, p. 399.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1513–1616, 580.
[3] M'Carthy, *l. c.*, 121.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., *l. c.*, 771.
[6] Purchas, vol. i. lib. iii. 320.
[7] Purchas, *op. cit.*, 321.

and, on the 9th July, their "good shepherd, that wise and worthy gentleman,"[1] Captain Anthony Hippon, was stricken and died, and Thomas Essington was appointed in his place. Thieves also broke in at night, and stole money out of Essington's box, even although fifteen persons were sleeping in the house, a lamp burning, 'and a great black Dogge keeping watch in the yard,' circumstances which led Floris to suspect that the robbers were among themselves.[2]

Adam Denton, one of the factors, relates,[3] that shortly after the arrival of the *Globe* at Patani, he left Mr. Floris on the ship and went to Siam (Ayuthia) in a "goudon" they had built. This circumstance, however, is not mentioned in the Extracts from Floris' Journal, although it comes out incidentally in them that some of the factors had gone to Ayuthia before the *Globe* had left Patani for the capital, as eight days after the ship's departure, and seven days before it had reached its destination, Floris, who had remained behind at Patani, records that he received letters from Master Essington and Master Lucas (Antheuniss) at Ayuthia, so that Denton had been accompanied by these two factors; and it appears from his letter[4] that two other Englishmen went with him, *viz.*, Thomas Samuel and Thomas Driver. These five, then, were the first Englishmen to visit the capital of Siam; and Adam Denton mentions[5] that from the roadstead of Siam he and his companions journeyed "up the river some twenty miles to a town called Bancope (Bangkok), where they were well received; and farther 100 miles to the city (of Siam) where the king and people furnished them with everything they required, and a stone house, three stories high, contrary to the opinion of the Dutch."

The *Globe* followed Denton and his companions on the

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

[2] Extracts of Peter Williamson Floris his Iournall, for the seuenth Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant), translated out of Dutch: Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, pp. 319–328.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

1st August,[1] and arrived in the "Road of Syam" on the 15th August, 1612, and cast anchor in three fathoms at high water, but this dangerous position was soon changed for a better, in deeper water. Information of the ship's arrival was at once forwarded to the city, but as soon as the tidings had reached "Mancock" (Bangkok), the native Shāhbandar of that port went down professedly to receive King James's letter, but chiefly with an eye to a personal present.

The factors were received in audience by the king on 17th September,[2] when King James's letter was doubtless delivered. The arrival of a letter from so little known a monarch as the king of England was a great event in Siamese history, and one which gratified the king. At the audience each factor received a little golden cup and a small piece of clothing,[3] a custom which, in important interviews, used to be followed at the court of Mandalay during the reign of the deposed Thebaw and his predecessors. They received permission to trade in his kingdom, and consequently took possession of the house assigned to them, and which lay close to the Dutch factory; but in their first efforts to dispose of their goods, they were much embarrassed by the covetousness and corruption of the mandarins, and by the wars which afflicted the country, and which had caused the markets at Ayuthia to be surfeited with goods.

The news of the cordial reception of these Englishmen by the king of Siam was carried to Acheen by an ambassador to that Court from his Siamese Majesty, and it doubtless created no little stir in that capital as well. Captain Best records[4] that while at Acheen he was visited by the Ambassador on the 19th April, 1613, who with

[1] Purchas, *l. c.*, p. 321.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[4] A Iournall of the tenth Voyage to the East-India, with two shippes, the *Dragon*, and *Hosiander* (accompanied with the *Iames* and *Solomon*, but those for other Voyages): Written by Master Thomas Best, chiefe Commander thereof. Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i., 1625, pp. 456–466.

evident pleasure communicated to him the fact that his sovereign had received in audience three Englishmen who had visited Ayuthia, and had entertained them in a kingly fashion, as he had been overjoyed at the receipt of a letter from the king of England. And a few days later the ambassador dined with Captain Best, "but sent his owne cookes to dresse his vittualles, and brought his drink with him, being water in great flagons of sillver."[1]

Shortly before their departure from the roadstead of Siam, the delta of the Menam "the mother of waters," appears to have been visited by a cyclone on the 26th October, 1612. Floris relates that on that day "arose such stormes, that old folkes had not there seene the like, renting vp trees by the roots, and blowing downe the Kings monument, which hee had erected to his Father. The ship hardly escaped by the diligence of Master *Skinner* and *Samuel Huyts*, casting out a third anchor, being driuen, notwithstanding her two anchors, from sixe fathome to foure, and not passing an *English* mile from the land. Master *Skinner* was beaten from the anchor-stocke, but very strangely recouered. Fiue men were drowned; one after the rest, whom they supposed deuoured of a Whale, which they saw soone after they had seene him. This storme lasted foure or fiue houres, and then followed a smooth sea, as if there had been no tempest. A tempest yet continued aboord the ship, by reason, as was reported, of the reasonlesse masterly Master, who was therefore apprehended, and *Skinner* placed in his roome, whereby that weather also calmed."[2]

The factors were back again at Patani on the 11th November, having left Lucas Antheuniss at Ayuthia, and on the following day they recorded a resolution to winter there.[3]

The state of Patani was governed by a queen, who was

[1] Voy. of Sir J. Lancaster, Hak. Soc., p. 250.

[2] Purchas, *l. c.*, p. 322. In the November and December of 1613 there were serious inundations at Patani, destroying many houses and a great number of animals.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 621 Purchas *l. c.*, p. 323.

invariably elected from the same family,[1] and always old and beyond child-bearing, so that there might be no inducement to marry. The reigning queen,[2] to the eyes of the English, was a comely old woman, "threescore yeeres of age, tall and full of Maiestie; in all the *Indies* we had seene few like her."

Floris has given an account of an entertainment that took place on the occasion of the queen leaving her palace, after a seclusion of seven years, "to hunt wilde Buffes and Bulles."[3] Twelve women and children danced before the queen, and after she had commanded the "Gentilitie" to do the same, or to make a show of so doing, which they did amidst much laughter, the English and Dutch were called upon to trip the light fantastic toe, a performance which they went through to the delight of her Majesty. On this occasion she passed between the English ships, and was saluted "by some Peeces" from the *Globe*, and by "Musket-shot on shoare."[4]

Lucas Antheuniss having reported to Floris that he had sold more than half the quantity of goods intrusted to him, and that the king himself had been a large purchaser, more goods were sent by the *Globe* to the capital, in March 1613.[5]

Floris had also begun to extend his trading operations, so as to include Japan, but to facilitate this he had to borrow money from the queen at six per cent., and one per cent. to her treasurer. Like the princes of Indo-Malaya generally in those days, she was the head of the commerce of her small principality, a position which the last king of Burma also occupied, holding many monopolies.

[1] De La Loubère, New Hist. Rel., 1687–88. London, 1693, p. 82.

[2] Purchas, *l. c.*, p. 323.

[3] In coming down the Irawadi from the first expedition to Western Yunnan, 1868–69, I stopped for a night with my companion Robert Gordon at Yenangyoung, and had an interview with the first wife of the Woon of that district, a handsome Burmese woman of about thirty, full of spirit, and fond of sport, using both the gun and the spear.

[4] Floris' Journal. Purchas, vol. i. p. 323.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771. Floris, Purchas, vol. i. p. 323.

At Ayuthia, Floris doubtless learned of the intimate relations that had existed for years between the Governments of Siam and Japan, and of the letters and embassies that had passed between them, the most recent of these incidents having been the letter which the Shōgun Iyé-yasu had addressed to the king of Siam asking for muskets, and incense known as eagle-wood.[1]

Moreover, at the capital and at Patani, they met many Japanese, as the seas of the eastern side of the Malayan peninsula, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were much frequented by that people.[2] Their intrepidity as seamen and their reputation for courage had been thoroughly established; fidelity also had proved to be one of their virtues, and had led to their being employed as a very considerable element in the bodyguard of his Siamese majesty. Moreover, the beauty of the art productions of their country, imported into Siam, and the life of the Japanese as seen in their camp at Ayuthia and on board their junks, must have greatly impressed the minds and imaginations of these English merchants in Siam, and awakened in them a strong desire to open up a trade with a people so interesting and highly cultured. One of Floris's first efforts, therefore, was to develop a trade with Japan, whither the *Clove* under John Saris had gone to settle a factory, as he had learned that Patani and Hirado were sister ports, between which the Japanese had prosecuted, for an indefinite period, a vigorous trade. No traffic between these two seaports seems to have been carried on by the Siamese themselves, for if any of their junks ventured to brave the storms and typhoons of the intervening seas, they were either manned by Japanese or Chinese.

Lucas Antheuniss, who was the moving spirit at Ayu-

[1] Trans. As. Soc. Japan, vol. xiii. (1885), pp. 139–210. This is a reference to a most interesting account of the intercourse between Japan and Siam in the seventeenth century, by E. M. Satow, recently British Minister at Bangkok.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

thia, does not state that any restrictions had been laid on the English merchants there as to entering the city, but certain rules did exist regarding the privilege to trade, as Denton has recorded [1] that when the factors first went to the capital, they learned that the crews of two Japanese junks, then in the river, had traded by force, having entered the city walls without a license. The result was that eight of their number were killed in one day, whereas if they had first procured the necessary *Tarra* or license, all would have been well.

The English factors had seemingly been favoured with a license of the widest scope, as Lucas Antheuniss, shortly after his arrival, set himself to open up a trade with the country to the north of the capital. He dispatched thither his assistants Thomas Samuel and Thomas Driver. The new field of English enterprise was "Zangomaye" [2] (Xiengmai), which, probably unknown to Antheuniss, had been visited by the English merchant Ralph Fitch [3] a quarter of a century before, and by Pinto in 1548, who states [4] that from Ayuthia he accompanied the king of Siam and his army for the invasion of "Chiammay." The two new explorers of Xiengmai, or Zimmé, as the Burmese call it, were instructed to discover the trade of that country by the sale of certain goods.

An attempt was made in 1836–37 by Captain Macleod (afterwards major-general) to open up trade with Xiengmai, but under very altered conditions in the political relations of the surrounding countries; for by that time the once Siamese province of Tenasserim, after having remained a Burmese possession for nearly a century, at last came under the rule of Great Britain. The project, in 1836–37, was not to obtain the trade of Xiengmai for Siam, but for the British seaport of Moulmein, the capital of the province. It, however, proved a signal failure. Of recent

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 756, 771.
[3] Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1740.
[4] Voyages and Adventures of F. M. P., done into English by *H. C.*, Gent. London, 1663, p. 269.

years, attention has again been directed to Xiengmai, as it lies more or less in the routes of various proposed railways that have been suggested as a means of opening up the trade of China, and of directing it to the ports of either Rangoon or Moulmein. Such projects have ostensibly for their purpose the diversion of the trade of China past Bangkok. Those, therefore, interested in the commercial prosperity of Siam have had a survey made for a projected railway from Bangkok to Xiengmai. The necessity for the presence of a British Vice-Consul at Xiengmai, within the last few years, is further evidence that the place is slowly, but surely, increasing in importance.

But to return to our narrative.

The factors, who had gone to Ayuthia in March, returned in the *Globe* to Patani on the 23rd September, 1613,[1] again leaving Antheuniss in charge of the factory.

This reinforcement of the Patani factory enabled the English to muster in such force as to be the means of preventing an attack on their quarters, by the Javan slaves of two chiefs, then in revolt, and who had burned the whole town with the exception of a few houses. These intrepid Englishmen advanced against the rebels, who, becoming aware of their numbers, fled into the country, and thus the English established a reputation for bravery, and earned the name of "Defenders of strangers." [2]

On the 27th September 1613,[3] Captain Essington drew up a resolution declaring his intention to sail that day for Bantam, and to leave Floris behind at Patani with Denton, as he alleged the former had allowed some disorders to occur; whereas Antheuniss has recorded that "Essington had overthrown all hopes of trade at Patani, if the patience of Floris and the mediation of friends had not prevented it." [4]

The foregoing resolution was not carried out until the 22nd October, 1613, when the ship sailed for Masulipatam,

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.
[2] Floris, Purchas, vol. i. p. 324.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 655.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

but with Floris and Denton on board,[1] the three servants of the Company left behind at Patani being William Ebert, Robert Littlewood,[2] and Ralph Cooper, whose spirits were cheered the day before their companions' departure by the arrival of the "vnhoped-for *Hope* from *Iohor*."[3]

The *Globe* reached Masulipatam on the 19th December, 1613,[4] where it found the ship *James* at anchor, this vessel having arrived on the 21st June, 1613 to settle a factory at Pettipolli.[5] The factors of the *James*, however, were in great trouble, as the governors and natives had behaved very badly to them,[6] but their chief ills were those of their own making. They had quarrelled among themselves, and so bitterly, that the captain of the ship held "house by himself, the merchants another by themselves." The former, however, appears to have been master of the situation, as he had put two of the merchants, Richard Cobbe and John Gourney, in the bilboes or stocks, so that Adam Denton, who was transferred to the *James*[7] on the arrival of the *Globe* from Patani, complained to the directors[8] that the merchants were being "made servants and slaves to the captains."

[1] In the C. S. P. C. E. I. (1513–1616), there is a letter (Par. 743) from Peter Williamson Floris dated Masulipatam, July 10, 1614, in which it is said that he and Geo. Chauncy "arrived at Masulipatam from Patani in the *James*;" but in the account of the voyage of the *James*, written by the master of the ship, John Davy (Purchas, vol. i. lib. iii. pp. 440–444), and from what is known to have been the movements of the ships *Globe* and *James*, the foregoing statement in the letter 743 should be interpreted thus: Geo. Chauncy of the *Globe* went to Masulipatam from Bantam in the *James*; Peter Williamson Floris went to Masulipatam from Patani in his own ship, the *Globe*. The difficulty of understanding the statement arises from the circumstance that the two men signed the letter. Another somewhat similar instance to this, among others, occurs in C. S. P. C. E. I., 620, in which Geo. Chauncy's name is so associated with the captain and factors of the *James* as to lead at first sight to the supposition, that he was one of them, but farther on in the letter it is stated that he had been left behind at Bantam by the *Globe*.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

[3] Purchas, *l. c.*, p. 324.

[4] Purchas, vol. i. p. 325, C. S. P. C. E. I., 771. Captain Essington died at Masulipatam on the 17th May 1614. C. S. P. C. E. I., 737, 743.

[5] The ninth Voyage of the *Indian* Companie to the East *Indies* in the *James*, whereof was Captain M. Edmvnd Marlowe of Bristoll, and the Master John Davy, who wrote this Iournall. Purchas, vol. i. lib. iv. pp. 440–444.

[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 756, 771.

[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771, 877.

[8] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

Floris remained with the *Globe* at Masulipatam, whereas the *James* set sail for Bantam and Patani on the 7th February. After leaving Bantam on the 10th June, 1614, the *James* fell in with the ship *Darling*, also bound for Patani, and the two ships anchored together in that harbour on the 30th June, 1614.[1]

On the arrival of the ships, the factors of the *James* had a dispute[2] with the native officials (Oran Kayes[3]) regarding the presents they were to receive; but their own troubles were the most difficult to bear, as the ship was under the command of a man, Captain Marlowe, who "governed at sea with much brawling and little justice, and ashore with much greatness without skill, consuming much more money than was necessary."[4] This tyrannical commander had endeavoured to displace John Gourney, and by presents from the Company's purse had obtained his own goods customs free,[5] and was "one of the first which doth trade publickly contrary to yo[r] wo[rs] order." He is also spoken of as that "troublesome captain of the *James*," who doth disquiet both house and fleet; "could better temporise with John Davis (the master of the *James*[6]) in his drink, than with this insatiable captain in his best wits."[7] He is also described as giving himself up to rioting and extreme drunkenness, whereby he had caused "much disgrace to the English nation, the master (John, Davis) being an apt scholar to imitate those loose and lewd courses."[8]

The character borne by another of the Company's servants, Robert Larkin, captain of the *Darling*, cannot

[1] John Davy, Purchas, vol. i. p. 444. C. S. P. C. E. I., 756, 759, 760, 771, &c.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 759.

[3] *Orankay*, a person of distinction, a chief or noble. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 758.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.

[6] This was Captain John Davis of Limehouse, who was so often confounded with his namesake John Davis of Sandridge. The history of the two men has, however, been succinctly given by Captain Markham in his introduction to his edition of the Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator, Hakluyt Soc., 1880.

[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 366.

[8] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1016.

but have been prejudicial to the Company's affairs, as he along with some others, on the same ship, had been already denounced[1] "for purloining the Company's goods, deceiving private men, insolent behaviour, and vanity in wearing buckles of gold in their girdles," and for suddenly having become rich at the expense of their masters.

Among their minor troubles at Patani, Denton mentions the want of books, paper, and ink, the Chinese paper which they had to use having been eaten by the "kaka-roches" (cockroaches).[2]

At Patani, the goods of the *James* were transferred to the *Darling*, which sailed for Bangkok on the 30th July, 1614,[3] with John Gourney, William Sheppard, and Thomas Brockedon, merchants of the ninth voyage, accompanied by Robert Larkin and his assistant, Benjamin Farie,[4] and probably within fifteen days arrived at the capital of Siam. After all the efforts and expense which the Company had incurred to establish trade at Patani, Adam Denton, who was in charge of that factory, wrote towards the end of 1614 to the East India Company, that "all the trade abroad was dead through the troubles and wars," and that war "was feared in Patani with the Acheenders;"[5] but that if troubles came, the Company's goods would be sent away, a course which the Dutch also intended to adopt. He did not consider Patani worth keeping, except for the sale of cloth, but Gourney held that it "yielded very good sorts of paintings and woven wares fit for Java and the Moluccas."[6] Robert Larkin was also so disappointed with the trade of Patani, that he was on the outlook for other and more suitable marts, and had heard of Segora (Singora or Songkla), to the north-east of Patani, as enjoying a high reputation for trade, and as being a second Jakatra (Batavia).[7] It had, moreover, the reputation of being a safe harbour, as John Davis of the

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 305.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 326.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.
[4] C. S. P. C E. I., 771
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 771.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 756.
[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., 749.

James relates that before he left Patani in October, 1614, he took his vessel to Singora to have it repaired, and that the harbour was "a very good place vnder two Islands, fast by the Maine."[1] In after years the servants of the Company tried to open up a trade with Singora, but the Dutch prevented their doing so, as they held that they had concluded a contract with the king, by which the pepper trade was to be entirely theirs.

Japan, however, was the country which promised to be the richest field for the Company's trading efforts, and, towards the end of 1614, the factors at Hirado and Ayuthia had arrived at an understanding regarding the development of this field of enterprise.

A junk was purchased in Japan, and named the *Sea Adventure*;[2] William Adams, the first Englishman to land in the country,[3] being appointed its captain.[4] Richard Wickham,[5] or "Segnieur Richard," as he was called by

[1] Purchas, vol. i. p. 444.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 805, 806.]

[3] He arrived in Japan in April 1600.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 673.

[5] Richard Wickham left England in the ship *Union*, in 1608. The vessel was accompanied by the *Ascension*, and the two sailed in company to the Cape, where they parted company in a storm on September 20, 1608. The *Union* made for St. Augustin, a bay on the southern part of the west coast of Madagascar, where it remained twenty days. Here Richard Wickham, Richard Kenn, purser, and another man were treacherously captured by the Portuguese, and, at the time, those on board the ship did not know whether or not they had been killed. Richard Wickham, however, was carried prisoner to Goa, where he met François Pyrard, also a prisoner with the Portuguese. The two were a long time in prison together, so that Pyrard had doubtless many opportunities of judging of the character of the man, whose noble bearing seems to have impressed him so much. Wickham told him that his cousin, who had been captured with him, had been slain in cold blood by the Portuguese. They left Goa together about the same time, probably in 1609, and were sent to Portugal. C. S. P. C. E. I., 639. Purchas, vol. i. p. 233. The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, &c. Hak. Soc., vol. ii. pt. i., 1888, pp. 264–265.

The *Ascension* afterwards proceeded towards Surat, near which port it foundered on September 2, 1609. This is recorded in the following work, reproduced in the "Harleian Collection of Voyages," 1745, vol. ii. Its title is "A true and almost Incredible Report of an Englishman, that (being cast away in the good ship called Assension, in Cambaya, the farthest part of the East Indies) Trauelled by Land. . . . With a Discovery of a Great Emperor called the Great Mogoll, a Prince not till now known to our English Nation," by Captain Robert Coverte. It was "printed by N. O. for Thomas

François Pyrard, who describes him as "a man of proud and noble bearing like a captain," was deputed to go as a merchant to Ayuthia, along with Edward or Edmond Sayer. A passport to William Adams under the name of "*Anjin*" or pilot, by which designation he was known to the Japanese, was doubtless issued by the Shôgun Iyéyasu, and Satow[1] mentions that a document of this nature, in the name of *Anjin,* and dated 1614, is still preserved in the records of the Japanese Government.

As Richard Cocks, the chief of the English factory in Japan, had at this time no certain information regarding the movements of the Company's servants in the kingdom of Siam, he instructed Richard Wickham, if John Gourney was not at Ayuthia, to send his letters to Captain Jourdain at Bantam.[2] And he was told to bring back as his cargo brazil, a red wood, deer-skins, raw silk, china stuffs, &c. A present was sent to the king of Siam, and a jar of white biscuit[3] to Adam Denton and William Ebrett. The junk set sail from the road of Cochi[4] on the 17th December, 1614, but by the 23rd of that month it had anchored to the south-west of the island of Oxima (Oshima), one of the Liu-kiu group of islands, having sprung a leak in the severe weather it encountered in these few days. The vessel, however, had been scarcely seaworthy, as the leak had been noticed by Wickham before he started, but his fears had been quieted by Cocks' assurance that, from what he knew of Captain Adams, he would not venture his life "in desperate sort."[5] The governor of Oshima carried the letter from Wickham to Cocks, in which these facts are recorded, but before leaving he had promised the Englishmen all the friendship the place afforded. He,

Archer, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head Place, near the Royall Exchange. 1614."

[1] Trans. Asiat. Soc. of Japan, vol. xiii., 1885, p. 141.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 806.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 805.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 844. It is said that the vessel sailed from the road of Cochin. This should be the road of Cochi or Cochie, not Cochin. It is mentioned by Cocks, who describes it as the "Bay Cochi in Firando."

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 814.

however, recommended them to go to Nafa, the chief harbour of Okinawa-shima, the main island of the group, as the king resided there. Cocks mentions in his diary that the junk returned to Hirado on the 11th June, 1615, "having lost her voyage for Syam this yeare." The factors and sailors took back with them to Japan some examples of the products of the islands, the most important among which were ambergris and potatoes.[1] Cocks planted the latter in his garden, for which he paid five shillings per annum, and mentions "that pottatos brought from Liquea" were "a thing not yet planted in Japan." In another voyage of the *Sea Adventure*, in which the junk had again to take refuge in these islands, Mr. Eaton, one of his colleagues, brought back "500 small potata rootes" to Cocks, which he planted in his garden.[2]

The next notice of the Siam factors is dated the 20th April, 1615,[3] when they held a court at Ayuthia, giving instructions to Thomas Brockedon to proceed to Patani to join Adam Denton, "for better performance of the increased business of the ninth voyage."[4]

On the following day,[5] they held another court about "buildings to be divided," and from the recorded proceedings we learn that Lucas Antheuniss and Peter Williamson Floris, the merchants of the seventh voyage, had provided "good and sufficient houses at Patani and Siam, at heavy charges and extraordinary expense for presents, to preserve the goods from fire, thieves, and other accidents; and having regard to the trade from Masulipatam and

[1] Diary, vol. i. p. 7. These were probably the sweet potatoe *Convolvulus batatas*, but in Cocks' time they seem to have been a rarity in Japan, as Richard Wickham, on visiting Oyen Dono, "carid hym a dish of pottatos." Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 5.

[2] Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 11, vol. ii. p. 59.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 971.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 971. Brockedon probably proceeded to Patani in the *Darling*. This vessel proved to be so unseaworthy that it was laid up at Patani in June 1615, and could not be repaired. The master of the vessel, however, was reported to have intended to run away with it to the Portuguese; but this being prevented, he went himself and joined them. Purchas, vol. i. lib. iv. p. 533.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 973.

Coromandel," they now called upon John Gourney, the principal of the ninth voyage, to contribute half of these charges, and if he declined to do so, Lucas Antheuniss declared he would sell the house for the benefit of the seventh voyage. His object was to close the accounts of the seventh voyage, and we consequently find him also addressing a letter to the long-absent Thomas Samuel at Xieng-mai, instructing him on his return to Ayuthia to deliver over to John Gourney whatever goods he might have, and he was further told that he had been found "very exceeding negligent," and was directed to "clear and purge" himself to whomsoever he found chief at Siam.[1] He appears to have returned some goods to Antheuniss, who had also been sending goods to Camboja. Samuel,[2] however, never saw Ayuthia again, as he was carried off from Xieng-mai[3] to Pegu when the former town fell, in 1615, before the conquering Maha Dhamma Raja, and at Pegu he died;[4] but what became of his companion, Thomas Driver, is seemingly unknown.

On the 21st July, 1615, the *Solomon*[5] was dispatched from Bantam with instructions to proceed to Masulipatam, but to touch at Patani, and to take in goods and money, with either John Gourney or Lucas Antheuniss.[6] On board this vessel were George Chauncey, Ralph Preston, Humphrey Elkington, Timothy Mallory, Richard Pitt, and George Savage.[7] On the arrival of the *Solomon* a number of consultations were held to decide who were to be left behind in charge of the two factories. At their last meeting at Patani, held on the 9th October, 1615,[8] at which Lucas Antheuniss, Humphrey Elkington, Adam Denton, Timothy Mallory, Hugh Bennett, Robert Larkin, William

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1015.

[2] Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. v. p. 1006.

[3] Xieng-mai was restored to the Siamese, so report said, in 1617. C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–21.

[4] Purchas, *l. c.*, p. 1006. Phayre's History of Burma, p. 132, footnote.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I. (1513–1616), 1022 and 1023.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1023.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1023.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1026.

Sheppard, Thomas Brockedon, Benjamin Farie, and Ralph Preston were present, it was resolved that Benjamin Farie should be made chief of the factory at Ayuthia,[1] with George Savage and Richard Pitt as his assistants, and that Robert Larkin should be chief at Patani, with John Browne as second.

These arrangements having been made, the *Solomon* sailed for Masulipatam on the 27th October,[2] Lucas Antheuniss having been intrusted with a letter from his Siamese Majesty to the king of England.

In the meantime, the *Osiander*, commanded by Captain Ralph Coppindall, had arrived at Hirado on the 4th September, 1615.[3] On the 5th December Coppindall wrote to the chief factor of the East India Company in Siam (Ayuthia) a letter which was to be forwarded by Captain Adams, who, along with Edmund Sayer, was again to sail in the *Sea Adventure* to the kingdom of Siam.[4] From this letter it becomes evident that the experience of the Company's servants of the trade of Patani, in so far as it related to Japan, had not been satisfactory, as Coppindall speaks of selling the Company's business at Patani, and substituting for it a junk laden from Ayuthia with wood (sappan) and hides to meet English ships appointed to sail for Hirado. He had found that what little profits were made on goods received in Japan from Bantam and Patani were "eaten up by great presents and charges" exacted by Japanese officials, even although no customs were paid. On the other hand, he believed "that next to the hope of profit to be made in Hirado by trade with China, if it can be obtained, is the trade of Siam (Ayuthia), which is like to be of great help to mitigate the great

[1] Benjamin Farie entered the service of the Company on Jan. 11, 1610. (C. S. P., 477, 479). In Aug. 1613 he was at Macassar, and in May of the following year at Succadana, where he joined the *Darling*, having been appointed to go to Siam. *Ibid.* 733.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1091.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1064. Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 50.

[4] This is the voyage described by Satow. Trans. As. Soc. Japan, 1885, p. 141.

charge of continuing" the Japan factory.[1] Eaton[2] also, who was well qualified to give an opinion, recommended Sir Thomas Smythe that 'a ship of five or six hundred tons should go every year to Patani, and there lade for Siam, ... as it was better for the Company to have their goods brought from Siam and Patani in English shipping than in these scurvy junks.' Richard Cocks,[3] a little later, also condemned the junk-traffic, that had been originally begun on the recommendation of John Saris, and expressed his opinion that the advantages that had been expected from the trade between Siam and Japan had not been realised. His project was that Japan, which appears to have been rich in silver, should furnish all the Company's factories in the Indies with the precious metal, and by this means he believed the Company's expectation of trade with Japan would be realised; and in this chimerical project, which came to nothing, he had the support of the Directors. But the Court even went further than their factor, and hoped that the Japan factory would not only do what was proposed, but that it would be able also to send a surplus of silver to England.[4] At this time silver was being shipped from Ayuthia to Hirado.[5]

When the *Sea Adventure* was ready for sea, Cocks records that "Betyms in the mornyng the kyng sent to envite us to supper, because he understood our junck was ready to departe towards Syam." The entertainment was good, but he, Cocks, found "the drynking was overmuch."[6]

Adam Denton's complaint that the paper in the Siam factories had been eaten up by cockroaches seems to have reached Cocks, because he put 500 sheets of Japan paper on board the *Sea Adventure*, but at the same time was not unmindful of the creature comforts of the factors, as he sent them what appears to have been a liberal

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1063.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1183.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–1, 1.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–21, 275.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I. (1513–1616), 1110.
[6] Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 87.

supply of "bisket" in jars, and a gift from himself of one jar each to Gourney, Sharpe, and Denton.[1]

The junk sailed on the 7th December, 1615, from Cochi near the harbour of Hirado,[2] and in one month it had probably arrived in the Menam.

When it reached that factory, Adams and Sayer found the Company represented by Benjamin Farie and his assistants, George Savage, Richard Pitt, and John Johnson,[3] and at Patani by Robert Larkin and John Browne. John Gourney, who had been erroneously reported dead, had left Siam, in the early part of the year, in a junk for Bantam.[4]

Robert Larkin died on the 12th or 13th May, 1616, "his body was put in the ground" the next day.[5]

The *Sea Adventure* returned to Japan in company with the *Advice*, which had been driven into the Menam by stress of weather, and both vessels arrived at Hirado in July, 1616,[6] where they found the ship *Thomas*.[7]

But before the junk had left for Japan, the factors had held a meeting to discuss the course of action they should follow with regard to a novel order that had been recently issued by the king. Edmund Sayer, the merchant of the *Sea Adventure*, was present at the meeting, at which it was announced that the king had issued an express order to all his people and the strangers of other nations trading in his country, that every one dwelling at the water-side should, at his own cost, dig the river a fathom deep opposite to where he resided. As all were interested in this improvement, the factors decided to comply with the order.[8]

The merchants at Ayuthia met with a serious loss towards the end of 1616, as Benjamin Farie died in August or

1 *Loc. cit.*, p. 87.
2 *Loc. cit.*, p. 88.
3 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1110.
4 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1094. Gourney died at Masulipatam in the beginning of 1617, C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–21, 52; but according to Cocks' Diary, vol. ii. p. 48, between Bantam and Masulipatam.
5 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1118, 1170.
6 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1165. Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 155.
7 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1178.
8 C. S. P. C. E. I., 1110.

September,[1] after eating a hearty breakfast, having hardly time, it is added, to make a bequest in favour of his woman and child. The Dutch supposed that he had been poisoned by the Portuguese.

In the early part of 1617, an ambassador from the kingdom of 'Chiampa' (Champa) arrived at the Siamese court.[2] The presence of so responsible an official was taken advantage of by the English merchants to learn something about the trade of his native land. They were so favourably impressed with the facts gleaned from him, that they sent a small pinnace, on the 20th March, 1617,[3] with a cargo of goods suitable to the Champa market, under the charge of Peter Hall and John Ferrers. All the sailors of this ship of the Company's were Japanese, hired at Ayuthia and Bangkok.[4]

The factors, on arriving at their destination, were well received by the king, who granted them permission to trade freely in all parts of his kingdom without paying duties, in the first instance, but on the understanding that they were to be paid on any future visits. They were, however, afterwards warned by Richard Cocks of Japan that it was not safe to send goods in small boats to Champa, as the Portuguese had sent out many frigates, doubtless from Macao, "to scour the coast and to spoil the trade."[5]

After a short experience of Champa, or Tsianpu, as they also called it, the factors reported that its chief products were camboja (gamboge), benjamin (benzoin), lignum aloes (eagle-wood), and other commodities.[6]

These efforts to procure trade in no way relieved the factors at Ayuthia, whose chief difficulty, in 1617, seems to have been the Dutch, who, they complained, had en-

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1521–1616, 1170. *Ibid.*, 1617–1621, 86, 89, 221. A John Fary, probably a brother of Benjamin, served the Company for nine years, 1612–21, in their factories at Siam and Camboja. C. S. P. C. E. I., pp. 476 and 494.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 86. The letter mentioning this is headed "Judea in Siam."

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 86.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 221.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 226.

[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 107.

deavoured "by all possible means to wrong and hurt them by their vigorous scorpion tongues."[1] Their gossip regarding Pitt had travelled, by the beginning of 1618, even so far as Japan, where it reached the ears of Richard Cocks, who records[2] that a Hollander, Matias, the captain of a junk from Siam, told him "that Mr. Pittes (Pitt) the Englishman envited one James Peterson, thenglish umper, to a banket at Syam, and after, upon what occation he knew not, fell out with hym, and went with iij Japons to bynd him and take hym prisoner. But Peterson laid soe about hym that he kild ij of the Japons and made Pittes and the other to run away. This Peterson[3] is in greate favor with the king of Syam, and therefor I marvell Mr. Pittes would take this cours; but Mr. Mattias saieth it was doone in drink;" which is highly probable, as he was spoken of by one of the Company's servants "as a lewd and idle fellow."[4]

While Pitt was wasting his time and energies in dissipation, the Dutch were improving their position, and on the 12th June, 1617, they concluded a contract with the king of Siam's ministers regulating the sale of deer-skins, one of the chief exports to Japan.

The *Sea Adventure* was at this time at Bangkok, on its second voyage, having left the Bay of Cochi, three leagues from the harbour of Hirado, on the 21st December, 1616,[5] and arrived at its destination in twenty-eight days. The junk was to carry back sappan-wood, to obtain which, however, the factors had much trouble and vexation, and had to give many bribes to procure a small quantity. Their energies, however, were misspent in procuring sappan-wood, as Cocks afterwards told them that he esteemed "lead and

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 89.

[2] Cocks' Diary, vol. ii. p. 50.

[3] This man is mentioned in the C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–21, 226, as Peterson, in a letter from Richard Cocks, who says, "The English umpra, as they call him, is a man who may do the Company good service." He had therefore sent to him a small present, and also one to the Japan *ompra*. (John Peterson, C. S. P. C. E. I., 320, is another person.)

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846.

[5] Cocks' Diary, vol. i., p. 221.

skins a better commodity than wood."[1] The factors at Siam, in exchange for the sappan-wood and the rest of the cargo, wished a return from Japan in a coin, a specimen of which William Eaton was to take back with him to show to Cocks, who was told that if he could send coin of the same description, it would tend very much to their employers' profit, "provided it be kept secret."[2] Cocks' reply to this request was that he could not accede to it, as it was unlawful in Japan to stamp any coin, but that it was permissible to melt silver into bars.[3]

The *Sea Adventure* left Bangkok for Japan on the 27th May, 1617, with a cargo of 9000 skins; but instead of arriving at the end of the journey in twenty-eight days, as it had done in going south, the junk took nearly three months and a half to reach Hirado, as it did not anchor there until September, 1617.[4] It was a disastrous voyage as thirty-four of the crew died at sea, and on the arrival of the junk in Japanese waters, all who remained were sick and not able to do anything, save twelve, who brought the junk into Fushima, destitute of cables and anchors, with scarce a sail left, and indeed little better than a wreck.[5] The mariners of this tempest-tossed ship were Japanese, brave at sea, but apparently mutinous while in harbour.

William Eaton, the courageous and self-reliant captain of the junk, sent an encouraging account of the trade of Ayuthia to Sir Thomas Smythe.[6] He was of opinion that "great store of Indian cloth and other cloths from the coast of Coromandel may be sold at Siam (Ayuthia) to great profit, especially if the trade of Jangama[7] (Xieng-

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1617–21, 226.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 86.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 226. By 1690 the exportation of "silver plate" from Japan to Siam must have practically ceased, as Kæmpfer relates that on his visit to Ayuthia in that year "all the silver money of Siam was coined from Dutch crowns, which were for this purpose coined in Holland, and imported by the Dutch East India Company at seven shillings the crown." Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 42.

[4] Cocks' Diary, vol. i. p. 317.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 221.

[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 221.

[7] In July 1618 a report reached Jakatra that a peace had been concluded in November 1617 between

mai) be once opened, which it is thought will be next year. The returns from thence are gold, rubies, and other precious stones, also benjamin and sealing-wax, commodities in great request on the coast of Coromandel, besides deer-skins, which are very cheap there."

The trade of the factory at Ayuthia seemed also likely to be benefited from another quarter, as while Eaton was there, the merchants of the country of Lan John (Luang-Praban) arrived at the 'city of Judea' with "great store of merchandise."[1] This, among other causes, contributed to the prosperity of the Company's affairs in Siam at this period, notwithstanding the unworthy character of some of their servants. The latter were so well contented with their trading transactions, that they expressed the hope that all the Company's factories might make as good sales as they had;[2] and even the directors themselves, who were at no time easily pleased, recorded their satisfaction[3] with the accounts they had received of "two houses built for the Company; one very fair at Sia (?) Siam, which is as great a city as London, ... the other at Patani."

On the 12th August, 1617,[4] John Johnson died at Ayuthia, and Richard Pitt, who was assisted by Thomas Winterborne, a seafaring man,[5] was struck with a "miserable sickness," and, in a letter to John Browne at Patani, Pitt laments a fall in the price of hides, and draws a pitiful account of the factory, with neither money nor goods, "which is a shame for a place like Siam," and, moreover, he had "no encouragement or hope of supply for this year;"[6] a very different picture from that which he had drawn in his letter of the previous May.[7]

Some of the Company's servants, however, had a strong

the Kings of Siam and Ava, and that Xiengmai and other places which had been conquered by Ava were to be ceded to Siam; but when Eaton wrote, December 1617, he says Xiengmai was under the king of Pegu.

1 C. S. P. C. E. I., 221.
2 C. S. P. C. E. I., 89.
3 C. S. P. C. E. I., 466.
4 C. S. P. C. E. I., 140.
5 C. S. P. C. E. I., 221.
6 C. S. P. C. E. I., 140.
7 C. S. P. C. E. I., 89.

belief in Siam as a place of trade, and, in the beginning of 1618, George Ball, the president at Bantam, wrote to the directors that Coromandel cloth to the value of 50,000 rials could annually be sold at Ayuthia; and that the country yielded deer-skins and sappan-wood for Japan, and gold and rubies to great profit; and that if the country were at peace, it might yet yield a far greater trade,[1] and that, moreover, there was abundance of silks.[2]

The English at Ayuthia, during this year (1618), seem to have been in high favour with the king of Siam, as Pitt informed Cocks that if he wished to build a junk at Ayuthia as large as the Hollanders', it could be done, provided two English carpenters were sent, as the king would furnish the Company's servants at Ayuthia with two hundred men to cut timber or perform any other service for the English.[3]

At Patani, however, the Company's affairs were in a much less prosperous state, and the factory, it was said, at the time yielded little, "and in respect of great charges, taxations, and other unkind usage imposed upon strangers," began to be forsaken.[4] It was then under the charge of John Browne, William Polhill or Paulhill, and Edward Gillman; but by the middle of the year the last was left alone, his two companions having died.[5]

William Eaton at Japan, nothing daunted by his last disastrous voyage from Siam, prepared to set sail once more for that country. He carried with him a letter[6] to the factor at Ayuthia, in which Cocks recommended to them the "Japan ompra" as a man who would help them to keep the mutinous Japanese sailors in order. It would thus appear that the East India Company, as in after years, was in the habit of employing Japanese in their service. The *ompra* himself was a Japanese, as has been

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 107.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 275.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 349.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 245.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 226.

pointed out by Satow,[1] and, moreover, a man who afterwards played a somewhat important part in the revolution at Ayuthia in 1629.

On the first day of the year 1618, the junk was ready to sail, but Cocks had much trouble with the Japanese sailors about carrying passengers along with them, nine of whom were found secreted in their cabins and turned ashore. Cocks went on board at midnight, "and carid 20 loves bread, a veneson pastie, a peece rosting beefe, and a bottell Spanish wyne," and on the following morning the *Sea Adventure* sailed[2] in company with some other junks,[3] but in five days was driven to seek shelter in the port of Tomari, owing to westerly winds and a high sea.[4]

Eaton again attempted to proceed on the voyage, but was driven back again to Tomari, where some Portuguese on their way to Camboja quarrelled with him because he passed them "without puting affe his hat (he being bound to doe no more to them than they to hym); so that from wordes they fell to blowes, but the Portingalles were well beaten and driven abord."

After the junk succeeded in leaving Tomari, it was forced to make for the Liu-kiu Islands, having doubtless encountered a typhoon, as a number of junks then at sea had been driven back to Nagasaki, one having met with no less than three such storms.[5] The *Sea Adventure* having been thus delayed, lost the monsoon for Siam, and did not reach Bangkok until December, 1618.[6]

Eaton on his arrival found the factory in charge of Edward Longe,[7] George Savage, William Barrett, Richard Pitt, and some other Englishmen. Pitt was intrusted with the work of looking out for skins and sappan-wood for the return voyage, but the *Sea Adventure* was so

1 Trans. As. Soc. Japan, vol. xiii. p. 186. They were merely the official heads of the settlers belonging to their nations. An *ompra* was, in fact, a sort of consul with limited powers.

2 Cocks' Diary, vol. ii. pp. 1–2.

3 C. S. P. C. E. I., 817.

4 Cocks' Diary, vol. ii. p. 12.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 36.

6 C. S. P. C. E. I., 817.

7 C. S. P. C. E. I., 817.

damaged that it had to be sold[1] and another junk bought in its stead.

But the English and Dutch seem to have found powerful trading competitors in the Japanese themselves, as Cocks records that what in his opinion "cheefly spoileth the Japon trade is a company of ruch usurers whoe have gotten all the trade of Japon into their owne handes. . . . And these fellowes are nott content to have all at their owne disposing above, but they com downe to Firando and Nangasaque, where they joyne together in seting out of junckes for Syam, Cochin China, Tonkin, Camboja, or any other place where they understand that good is to be donne, and soe furnish Japon with all sortes of comodeties which any other stranger can bring, and then stand upon their puntos, offering others what they list them selves, knowing no man will buy it but them selves or such as they please to joyne in company with them, nether that any stranger can be suffered to transport it into any other parte of Japon. Which maketh me altogether aweary of Japon."[2]

Before noticing the events which happened at Patani in 1619, it may be mentioned that the newly purchased junk for the Japan trade left Ayuthia for Hirado on the 9th June, 1619, and arrived at its destination in two months.[3]

The English at Masulipatam were anxious to trade with Tenasserim, but were afraid of letting their intention to do so be known until the Moors' ships from that port had sailed, as the Dutch were at this time seizing the junks of the Moors[4] and the ships of the English and Portuguese, and were the bitter enemies of English trade, making every effort to dispossess the English of many places in the East Indies, and unjustly seizing their ships, and keeping their men prisoners in irons. The conduct, however, of our countrymen was not blameless, and the

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 817.
[2] Cocks' Diary, vol. ii. pp. 310.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 817.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 502.

Dutch, on their part, bitterly complained of the long-continued acts of injustice committed by the English.

This ill-feeling was so virulent, that war was soon declared between the two nations. The English called a Council together at Bantam, towards the close of the year 1618, at which Sir Thomas Dale, commander of the fleet, seems to have been present, and on this occasion they resolved, on account of the "insolencys of the Dutch," and the great losses the Company had sustained by the taking of five of their ships by the Dutch, and the killing of many of their men, and keeping the rest as slaves in the Moluccas, to make war against them for satisfaction of their losses.[1]

No time was allowed to elapse in putting this decision into execution, for on the 5th December the *Black Lion*,[2] a richly laden ship, with rice, pepper, and other commodities from Patani, being descried, was at once captured by four English ships, which were sent against it. This was the beginning of a fierce but short struggle between the Dutch and English. Some Dutch vessels were captured, and the Dutch fleet was driven away, it was supposed to the Moluccas, and some ships to Patani. After the skirmishing was over, the English fleet retired to the coast of Coromandel;[3] but prior to this, all the goods and merchants at Bantam were removed,[4] but men were left in charge of the Company's house.

In April 1619, John Jourdain, president of the English factories, returned from the coast of Coromandel, with the two ships the *Hound* and the *Sampson* to "new establish, both with men and means, the almost decayed factories" of Jambi, Patani, Siam, and Succadana.[5] Among those who accompanied him were Adam Denton, George Muschampe, and Richard Welden. They arrived at Patani in June 1619, to find the factory disorganised by "the base

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 609.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 500, 511, 547, 601, 609, 734, 883.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 246.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 609.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 775, 763.

and idle carriage" of Edward Gillman,[1] who had claimed to be chief[2] after the untimely deaths of William Paulhill and John Browne.

Adam Denton went to the factory[3] with the goods they had brought, and resided there while the ship lay at anchor in the harbour. John Jourdain's movements had, however, been carefully observed by the Dutch, who no sooner knew that he was at Patani, with only two ships, than they sent Henrick Johnson in pursuit of him with three well-appointed men-of-war, manned by 800 men.[4]

On the 17th July, 1619,[5] this strong naval division sailed into the harbour of Patani, and, taking up its position, at once attacked the two English vessels. The surprise, however, had not been so sudden but that the president might have set sail[6] and engaged them at sea, where his chances of success might have been greater; but he disdained to appear to run before his enemy, as his so doing might have damaged, in the opinion of the natives, the reputation his nation had established for courage. He determined, therefore, to fight them in full view of the town, and accordingly never moved from his anchor while they bore down upon him,—conduct which one of Jourdain's contemporaries said deserved "favourable censure," a verdict which every admirer of courage will accept.

After a "five glasses fight,"[7] "their noble president," says Marmaduke Steventon, who fought on board the *Hound*, "was slain in parley" with the Dutch commander, "receiving his death wound, with a musket, under the heart."[8]

A more detailed account of how Jourdain met his death was afterwards given by Thomas Hackwell, master of the *Sampson*, in his examination before the East India

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846. Gillman was sent prisoner to England in 1621.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 597.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1, 763, 814, 820, &c., Purchas, vol. i. (1625), p. 693.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 842.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 878.
[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., 877.
[8] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846 and 948.

Company on 25th January, 1621. It is prefaced by the statement that the two ships had been 'set upon by three ships of the Netherlands with might and mayne,' and that "after fiue houres fight, eleuen of the men of the *Samson* were slaine out-right, and fiue and thirtie men of the same ship were wounded, maymed, and dismembered. Captain *Iordan* was Captaine of the *Samson*, and did hang vp a flagge of Truce, and withall sent *Thomas Hackwell* . . . . to the *Netherlanders* to parlee about a peace." While Hackwell was so engaged, Jourdain, not suspecting any violence from the Dutch while the negotiations were going on, showed himself on board the *Sampson* before the main-mast upon the gratings, and the Dutch "espying him, most treacherously and cruelly shot at him with a Musket, and shot him in the bodie neere the heart, of which wound hee dyed within halfe an houre after."[1]

The death of this brave commander ended the contest, and the two ships were seized by the Dutch, the body of their heroic commander being doubtless committed to the same sea that, not many years before, had closed over another of England's great seamen, John Davis, the Arctic navigator.

Many men from the two ships were taken on board the Dutch admiral's ship, the *Angel*, where the wounded were treated most barbarously. Men who had been "much burnt with Gunpowder, and wounded with splinters, and thereby suffered miserable torment," were "most vnchristianly and inhumanly caused and forced . . . to put their legges downe through the gratings," when they were seized and "tyed to the Capsten Barres, insomuch" that (their) "legges were so swelled by reason of the extraordinary hard tying of them, that the Carpenter," when a man was temporarily permitted freedom for a few minutes, had always to be "fetched to make bigger the holes . . . . to get out their legges againe."[2]

[1] Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 693.

[2] *Ibid.*

Those who did not die under this inhuman treatment were afterwards turned ashore naked, but the masters and carpenters, and other chief men were reserved by the Dutch to be made useful to them, and for their "triumph and glory."[1]

In the petition of Robert Hackwell, of the *Sampson*,[2] presented to the East India Company, and preserved in the Public Record Office, London, it is stated that he was kept a prisoner by the Dutch about eight months, and the great part of that time in irons, "in which posture they carried him up and downe, from one place to another, and exposing him to the views of the severall natives where they came, as a trophie of their victoryes over the English."

Marmaduke Steventon, who was on board the *Hound*, writes:[3] "Fight in the *Hound* with three great Holland ships. Gourden (Gordon, master of the *Hound*) as valiant a proper fellow as ever put foot in a ship, notwithstanding his misfortune, when after five glasses fight, their noble president (John Jourdain) was slain. . . . In the *Sampson*, Boulten, merchant, was killed with ten others; Muschamp had his right leg shot, and after dismembred,[4] with some thirty more wounded. The *Hound* fired through the wilfulness or negligence of Domingo the Portugal, 'but the truth was never known,' and sixteen killed and wounded. So that on 17th July, 1619, was my forced loss both of estate, accounts, friends, and everything which might provide any hope of good; these merciless Flemings left him but two shillings (?) in all the world; as for his books, he begged for them almost upon his knees; was put in irons, and carried from ship to ship,

1 C. S. P. C. E. I., 846 and 948.

2 In a document (C. S. P. C. E. I., par. 842), giving a list of the men released by the Dutch at the conclusion of peace, Thomas, and not Robert, Hackwell is mentioned as master-mate of the *Sampson*, and Purchas speaks of him under that name.

3 C. S. P. C. E. I., 877.

4 He afterwards petitioned the Company, desiring compensation from the Dutch, for the loss of his leg. C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 498.

until his liberty was obtained by the Duke of Sernara, who commanded his release, in spite of the Dutch commander's denial."

Some other seamen captured in the *Sampson* and *Hound* were carried prisoners by the Dutch to Japan. Their advent there has been recorded by Cocks.[1] After describing the arrival of some ships, he says on the 10th March, 1619 (1620), "And last of all came an other greate shipp from Pattania, called the *Angell*, being the admerall of 3 shipps, which came together and sent of purpose to take the *Samson* and *Hownd*, two other English shipps, wherein Capt. Jno. Jourden, the presedent, came cheefe comander; they Hollanders coming upon them on a sudden as they road at an ancor in the roade of Pattania, nott dowbting any such matter, where they took both the said shipps, after the death of Capt. Jourden and others. Out of which ship *Angell* Mr. Wm. Gourden (Gordon) and Michell Payne escaped ashore, by the assistance of Mr. Wm. Adames; otherwais they hadd byn sent captives (as the Dutch terme it) to the Molucas. Mr. J. Gourden was master of the *Hownd*, and Michell Payne carpenter of the *Samson*. As also a Welchman named Hugh Williams escaped from them, and came to the English howse the morrow after. By which 3 men, as also by an open letter which I receved from Mr. Adam Denton from Pattania in the Duch shipp *Angell*, we understand of the proceadinges of the Hollanders against our Nation."

The chagrin of the Dutch at the escape of their prisoners soon manifested itself in open hostility, bringing serious troubles on the English factory, which they finally attacked three times in one day, but were fortunately repulsed by the English, aided by some Japanese. So enraged were they at their want of success, that they offered a reward of fifty rials to any one who would kill Cocks, as he had rightly refused to deliver up his countrymen.[1]

[1] *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 304-305.

Probably all this misfortune would have been avoided had Sir Thomas Dale remained in the Straits of Sunda, after he had driven the Dutch ships to the Moluccas, instead of having gone to the coast of Coromandel. By departing to the Indian coast he gave a respite to the Dutch, in which they "grew so proud and strong that none is so fit to deal with them as devils;" besides, it is said, "their insolency had been resisted, their ships taken, coming as they came one by one;" and, moreover, the Dutch could not have dispatched ships to Patani to attack the *Hound* and the *Sampson*.[1] Another officer, however, attributed the Company's disaster at this time to the dissensions and "crossings" between Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Jourdain, through their striving for superiority.[2]

The Dutch, after their victory over the English at Patani, we are told, were proud, and having the odds of numbers ashore, "did draw their swords upon our people in the street" of Patani, and threatened to burn their houses.[3] The queen undertook the protection of the English against the Dutch, but she exacted a large quantity of goods from the Company for so doing. Some of the goods so obtained by the queen were presented by her to Jonas Viney, nephew of Captain Jourdain, and to Henry Fosdick; but Denton seized them, and the Company afterwards approved of his action, as the Court had formerly ordered that all "returns of gifts for presents to any heathen prince" should be for the use of the Company.[4]

Richard Welden had been permitted to take ashore at Patani, probably from the *Hound* or *Sampson*, "a sum of 1500 ryals, but played away 1000 in dice."[5] Gambling at this period seems to have been in high favour with some of the Company's servants, and to have been widespread, as at Ispahan, in the following year, a rule was passed that if any one was discovered gambling in that factory

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 761.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 908.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1140.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1140.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1138.

all monies so made were to be forfeited and given to the poor, and the offenders were to be dismissed from the Company's table,[1] which meant that they were not considered fit associates for reputable men. This vice, however, was not the only foible of those days, as is amply proved by references to lewdness, nameless diseases, drunkenness, and bastard children, now and again cropping up in the correspondence of the Company's servants. Morality may have had a lower standard in those days than it has now, but, apart from any such consideration, the isolation of these Englishmen in their exile, their surroundings so different from those encompassing their lives in an English home, and the novel temptations to which they were exposed, lead charity to be merciful in judging them.

George Muschampe had so far recovered, from the loss of his leg in the fight with the Dutch ships, that he was able to leave Patani by the 9th October, 1619, in company with Richard Welden and Edward Gillman, and seventy-two men belonging to the *Sampson* and *Hound*. This large company set sail in three prows[2] to inform the fleet of the president's death and of the loss of the ships, but John Jourdain, the late president's nephew, William Webb, and John Farie remained behind with Adam Denton. They first went to Jambi, where they left Welden and 44 men,[3] and then proceeded on their way to Bantam, but were surprised by the Dutch fleet and carried prisoners to Jakatra.[4]

The *Bull*, which arrived at Bantam on the 14th March, 1620,[5] was hailed with unspeakable joy by all,[6] as it came as a messenger of peace, announcing that the Dutch and English had once more become reconciled. Had it not come, and had their fleets met at sea, "there had never been such a day amongst Christians,"[7] so deadly was

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 871.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 877.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 846, 851. In the latter account only twenty-five men are said to have been left at Jambi.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 948.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 878.
[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., 842.

the enmity then prevailing between the two nations. But with the advent of Captain Adams of the *Bull* with the olive branch of peace their passions were willingly quelled, and as a testimony of their gratitude and happiness on so auspicious an event, the English and Dutch generals "feasted each other that day," while the tidings of peace were "proclaimed aboard every ship at the mainmast, with great joy and content to every man on both sides."[1] But in the general rejoicing the poor prisoners of war were not forgotten, as, after certain agreements had been drawn up, fifty-one Englishmen were released from their miserable captivity,[2] and the captured ships were restored.

No more appropriate messenger than the liberated *Sampson* could have been selected to carry the good news to Patâui, which this vessel did.[3]

A sense of security having followed the proclamation of peace, William Webb went to Ligor in May, 1620,[4] to which place Adam Denton had proceeded before the news of the cessation of hostilities had reached Patani. The object of visiting Ligor was to ascertain whether a trade could not be opened up with the Chinese resident there. These people must have been very numerous to have given rise to such an intention, and were probably not less so than their countrymen at Patani, who, during Sprinckel's tenure of the chiefship of the Dutch factory at that port (1616), far surpassed in numbers the native population of the country.[5] The Chinese, however, apparently rejected these offers of trade, doubtless wishing to keep all they could to themselves, and the mission was consequently a failure.

Denton, on his return, asked to be relieved and to be permitted to go to England, his time having expired.[6] Young

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 934.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 842.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 851.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 851.
[5] Rec. de Voyages, t. iii. p. 256.

[6] After Denton returned to England in the *James Royal*, Sept. 19, 1621 (C. S. P. C. E. I., 814), Thomas Jones, who had accompanied him home in the same vessel, deposed on

John Jourdain was therefore appointed chief at Patani, with William Webb as his second.

In 1620, the Company's ships were calling at Patani to take in "rack" (arrack) and other provisions, and depositing supplies,[1] while the captains of other ships were instructed to ply to and fro to surprise the Portuguese, until the English ships sailed to Japan to meet the Manilla fleet. No less than five English and four Dutch ships were to sail from Jakatra to Patani towards the end of May, 1620,[2] "and so run along the coast of China for Japan, there to victual, and then to the Philippines, and so for the Moluccas."

The *James Royal*, bound for Japan, was one of these ships; and Captain Pring, the commander, relates[3] that when he went ashore at Patani, to the English factory, he found Adam Denton and Richard Welden, who had lately come from Jambi in a prow with certain men of the *Sampson*, then lying in Patani harbour, this vessel having been restored to the English. He says, "At my comming to the *English* house, I acquainted Master *Denton* with the cause of my comming, which was, for Racke and fresh Victuals, whereof wee stood in great need; whereupon he presently gave order, to lay out for all things necessarie; that within six dayes we were furnished with sixteene Buts of Rack and Rack-apee, whereof three Buts of Rack-apee, we had from the *Dutch;* which curtesie they did us to hasten our dispatch: Beeves, Goats, and Hennes, we had here in plentiful manner. Here also we bought Dammar and Oyle for the trimming of our ships, because I understood it was very deere in *Japan.*"

oath to the Directors of the East India Company (C. S. P. C. E. I., 1134) that "Denton is a proper merchant, and had done the Company good service, and himself good; his principal getting was by good husbandry in fitting shirts for mariners, which yielded him good profit."

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 883.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 843.

[3] The Second Voyage of Captain Pring into the East *Indies*, or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Ioynt Stocke, &c., consisting of the Ships *James Royall*, *Anne Royall*, the *Gift*, the *Bull*, and the *Bee*. All under the command of Martin Pring. Purchas, vol. i. p. 648.

One of these ships, the *Unicorn*, was "cast away on the coast of China,[1] in a most wild hurricane ever felt;" but all were saved, and a chest of money, with which they bought two junks to take them to Jakatra; but one of them "went to Amacou (Macao) of their own accord," but the other arrived at Patani with fifty Englishmen.[2] The junk which had gone to Macao, it was supposed, had been captured by the Portuguese, which was very probably its fate, after the treatment the Portuguese had been led to expect by the plying to and fro of the English ships with the intention of seizing their vessels.

The accounts conveyed to Patani by these shipwrecked Englishmen of the trade of Macao must have been painted in glowing colours, as it was reported to be a place where the English might settle with great profit. Richard Cocks,[3] of Japan, suggested, in the following year, that the fleet "might with little danger, take and sack" the place, as the "King of China" had not allowed the Portuguese to fortify the town, which, if captured by the English, would ruin Portuguese trade in these parts of the world.

Towards the end of 1620, although the factory at Patani had been visited by the *Clove* [4] and by the *James Royal*, with John Farie [5] on board, the factors, John Jourdain and William Webb, were complaining of the want of a better supply of goods for trading purposes, and stated that unless this could be ensured, they were uncertain whether the factory could be kept on.[6] They had for some time [7] been expressing their dissatisfaction with the conduct of Edward Longe at Ayuthia, who had been reported to be "drunk every day" in the company of the Dutch. And again, 31st January, 1621,[8] John Jourdain marvelled "that there should be so many complaints of him, . . . not only from the Company's servants, but from the blacks, . . .

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 829, 939, 947, 1014.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 917.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 461.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 883.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 917, 1143.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 921.
[7] C. S. P. C. E. I., 851.
[8] C. S. P. C. E. I., 968.

which is a great shame for our nation." Longe was therefore advised to carry himself in a better fashion towards the people, and to agree better with his own officers. He was also suspected of the dishonesty of paying less than he charged the Company for freight, which, if so, he was told, "would reap unto himself great disgrace." [1]

His relations with the Dutch were also of the very worst kind, as John Dodde, the second factor, had been seized and imprisoned by them, seemingly in retaliation for Longe's action in having kept as prisoners in the English house a Chinaman and two Japanese, whom the Dutch had attempted to rescue.[2] Longe wrote to John Jourdain, at Patani, complaining of the "vile carriage of one Newrode, chief factor for the Netherlands Company," while the latter denounced John Dodde as worthy of death.[3]

As time passed, the condition of the factories did not improve, and, in 1621, the Company's servants at Patani were in a worse state than the factors at Ayuthia; for "they owed a great deal more than they had money in the house to pay for," and could not expect any relief.[4]

The *Exchange* and *Peppercorn* visited Patani in May, 1621,[5] and brought the news that it was intended to dissolve the factory and to settle in some other place; and John Jourdain added in one of his letters to Longe,[6] "it had been well done if it had been dissolved long ago." The *Peppercorn* was to proceed to Japan from Patani, so that the isolation of the factors at Hirado from all communication with Siam, occasioned by the war between the Dutch and English, in 1618–19, was now to be removed. But although Patani and Ayuthia were at no great distance from each other, the factors at these two towns held but little intercourse, as the dispatch of letters between them depended solely on the chance visits of passing ships, Dutch or English.

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 968.
[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1074.
[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1099.
[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1051.
[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1007, 1012, 1013.
[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1013.

In the Consultation Book kept at Batavia, dated 22nd March, 1622, it is stated that the Council had long since resolved to remove the unprofitable factories at Patani and Siam;[1] and President Richard Fursland, writing from Batavia to the Company, on the 27th August, 1622,[2] informed the Directors that he had sent the *Fortune* with a small cargo to Ayuthia. The factors there were to sell the goods, and then depart in the *Fortune*, having first taken leave of the king, and delivered over their house until their return. The *Fortune*, on its way back, was to remove the factors at Patani. Moreover, orders at this time had also been issued for the removal of the factory in Japan.[3]

The *Fortune*, however, was not successful in its mission, as the king of Siam was very unwilling to allow the English to depart until he had received an answer to the letter he had sent by Lucas Antheuniss to "his brother the king of England." The *Fortune* returned to Batavia with two of the king's gentlemen, carrying a letter from the king and a present. The king desired to continue the league of friendship, and to offer any privileges the English might demand in any part of his country. The Council at Batavia recommended the Company to procure the king's answer to the Siam letters, and to send some gift; and if the Company wished them to continue the trade with Siam, they could afterwards send factors thither.[4]

They recommended that the following presents should be sent from England, as likely to be most acceptable to the king, *viz.*, "some curious picture of men and women; a picture of the people and habits of all countries; and a picture of all wild beasts, which a fair map may sufficiently express; a curious perspective glass, fair and good; a fair and neat case of pistols; an English watch; six

[1] Consultations at Batavia, dated March 22, 1622. India Office.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1622–24, p. 62.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 128, &c.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 110.

yards of fine scarlet; scarlet baize so much as will cover his olifant (elephant), which may be some fifteen yards, with any other novelties of no great value."

Jourdain, at Patani, had run himself so far into debt for China wares, contrary to commission, that he could not leave the place, and the factors at Batavia consequently expected "to find a bad reckoning of all business passed there by him, he being given over to his pleasure."[1]

The *Bee*[2] was sent to carry back the king of Siam's ambassadors, and to bring away all the Company's servants "and remains" from the two factories, and to take "Japan plate" to Patani to pay the debt due to the queen, the cause of Jourdain's detention. It was also resolved to send Japan silver to Siam, and a present to the king of such rarities as might be procured, and to give the two ambassadors goods to the value of Rs.200, and to send to the *Oybar Kalong* a present of Rs.20, and to the king's secretary goods to the value of Rs.30!

In the end of 1623, the Company were informed that the factories of Ayuthia and Patani had been dissolved,[3] and that Edward Longe was daily expected at Bantam; but farther on in the same letter it is stated that the Dutch had persuaded the great men to put him to death, and fears were also expressed regarding the safety of the *Bee*, which had been sent to bring him away;[4] and this is the last notice I have found of this ship.

This was a memorable year in the history of the East India Company, as it was the year in which their servants were brutally massacred at Amboyna, and in which the factory at Hirado was closed.

The Dutch East India Company's servants appear also to have left the country about the same time as the English, as John Coen states in his instructions to his successor, drawn up, on the 1st January, 1623,[5] that their servants

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 111.

[2] Consultations Batavia, dated March 22, 1622, in India Office.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 205.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 251.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 99.

had already been removed from "Battani (Patani), Sangora, and Siam" (Ayuthia); so that the Dutch referred to in the foregoing letter were probably some stragglers left behind, like Longe himself; but John Jourdain had gone back to Batavia by December 1624, as his name appears as "returned" in a list of all the factors and merchants in the Indies under the command of the President at Batavia.

At a General Court of the East India Company, held on the 23rd December 1625,[1] the Governor moved that a letter should be procured from his majesty, Charles I., to the king of Siam, and also to the kings of Bantam and Maccassar; and at a meeting held a month later, it was resolved to employ Richard Steele[2] to carry them. He accepted the mission, but as he never went beyond Jakatra, he was recalled towards the end of 1627.[3]

It is recorded that a carpenter had been sent out from England, to the king of Siam, in 1625;[4] but when, in the following year, the President and Council at Batavia extolled Siam as a place that afforded "many precious drugs, deer-skins, varnish, and lead for Japan, also tin at a low rate, and abundance of victual at lower prices than can be imagined,"[5] the Court resolved not to be allured to send their factors there, and recorded the opinion that it was a place of little or no use, and was not to be continued.[6] The Dutch, however, held a different view, and did not remain long absent, as a revolution that happened at Ayuthia, in 1629,[7] on the death of King Phra Chăo

[1] C. S. P. C. E. I., 1625–29, p. 126.

[2] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 141. This appears to be the man who was sent in 1615–16 on a mission from Ajmere, the place of the Great Mogul, to Ispahan (Purchas, vol. i. lib. IIII, p. 519; see also C. S. P. C. E. I. (1513–1616), 846, 849), and who had a grand project for waterworks at Ahmedabad in 1618. C. S. P. C. E. I. (1617–21), p. 120; 266, 269.

[3] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 408.

[4] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 152.

[5] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 154.

[6] C. S. P. C. E. I., p. 263.

[7] In the work entitled "Relation de la Province du Iapon, ecrite en Portugais par le Père François Cardim de la Comp. de Iesvs, Procureur de cette Prouince, Tradvitte et reueuë en François, Paris, 1646," it is said the king died on the 13th December 1629, p. 177. Crawford

Song-Tham, who had reigned from 1602, was witnessed by Joost Schouten,[1] who was at that time head of their factory at the capital.

Oloangh Thamtray-locq, governor of Tenasserim, a very old man, of great consideration, lost his head for the part he had taken in this outbreak.

It seems to have been all over by 1629, as in that year the usurper of the throne, Phra-Chăo Prasathong, was crowned at Ayuthia. Satow has brought together the facts connected with this revolution, having gathered them from Japanese, Siamese, and Dutch sources, and has shown in his valuable contribution to the history of Siam, already quoted in this work, the part the Japanese in Siam, under the leadership of their compatriot, and *ompra*, Yamada Jizayemon Nagamasa,[2] took in the elevation of the usurper to the throne.

In 1632–33, the Portuguese were at war with Siam,[3] and, in the latter year, they blockaded the mouth of the Tenasserim river. The beginning of this feud dated from 1624, when a yacht belonging to the Dutch was seized by the Portuguese in the Menam river. This hostile act, in a port considered to be open to all strangers, was brought to the notice of the king of Siam, and hence a grave misunderstanding arose between him and the Portuguese,[4] which the Dutch did all in their power to intensify; and it became so bitter, that the Portuguese proceeded to capture the king's ships at sea, the latter retaliating by seizing Portuguese vessels in the Menam, the crews of which were imprisoned. After two years'

states that in 1627 a revolution occurred in Siam, by which a new dynasty was placed on the throne. Journal of an Embassy to Siam, vol. ii. p. 142.

[1] A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam, &c. London, 1663. 8vo. For a Bibliography of Siam by Satow, see No. 17 of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and, as a separate work, published at Singapore Government Printing Office, 1886.

[2] *See* also Captain J. M. James's translation of the Kai-gai-I-den, by Saitô Masakane. Trans. Asiat. Soc. of Japan, vol. vii. pp. 191–204 (1879).

[3] Beschryving van het Koningryk Siam, &c., Beschreven door d'Heer Jeremias Van Vliet, 1692, p. 49.

[4] Van Vliet, *op. cit.*

confinement they were liberated, on the arrival of an embassy, which ultimately proved to be fictitious. This led to further reprisals, and to the capture of Portuguese ships at the ports of Ligor and Tenasserim,[1] in retaliation for which the Portuguese, as has been said, blockaded the mouth of the Tenasserim river to prevent Siamese junks entering it. The blockade, however, was raised by the advent at Mergui, overland from the capital, of eight Japanese on elephants, commanding a body of Siamese troops disguised as Japanese warriors. Each elephant carried two guns; and when this masked army came in sight of the Portuguese ships, the Japanese opened a furious cannonade, which would have speedily sunk them had they not prudently retired.[2]

Although occasional English interlopers may have gone to Ayuthia and Patani after these factories had been withdrawn, it would appear that the Company's goods were not sent there, except under special permission, as in a letter written at Bantam, on the 17th October, 1634, some person unnamed is reprimanded for having trusted Francisco Pinto to Siam, without the Company's orders, with ten rials of goods, not saleable at Ayuthia.

In a list of the merchants employed at Bantam and subordinate factories, dated September 1643, no mention is made of Ayuthia or Patani; neither do they occur in a list dated 29th December, 1645, nor in another for 1650.

A factory had been established at Camboja in 1654, and, in the beginning of the next year, the factors there, viz., Quarles Browne, Thomas Greenway, Henry Hogg, and Francis Callander, reported to Bantam[3] that "Siam goes

[1] Fr. Carons, und Jod. Schouten, Wahrhaftigen Beschreibungen zweyer mächtigen Königreiche, Jappan und Siam, 1663, pp. 323–324.

[2] Satow, *l. c.*, pp. 195–197. The Japanese were temporarily expelled from Ayuthia in 1633, but these eight warriors were pilgrims who had been left behind, and had been captured and promised their freedom if they repelled the Portuguese. This ingenious ruse, if true, was of their designing.

[3] Letter from the Factors at Camboja to Bantam, dated 17th January 1655. India Office Records, O. C., 2443.

much beyond this place both for largeness and cheapeness" of certain goods, and that report "gives that place to bee a Gallant place for tradeing, for hee that brings any champored commodities thether dyes without remidy, as Beju, Aqula (Benjamin and Wood aloes), &c., other commodityes in great quantityes p'cureable as Elephants teeth, Hydes of all sortes, &c., for Japan and China, Wax, and none of those northern places for trade gives such Justice as they, only this inconvenience, noe comeing to sight the King, his honnour to our remaineing house there (although only 2 of the Comp[as] slaves lives or lived in itt) shewes the English is not yett out of his memory, for at all great feasts of ye Dutch when they trim up their house, hee will have ours also soe in the same nature, and yearely hath it repaired, this wee have from the Dutch themselves."

Siam (Ayuthia) appears in a list[1] of the factories in which books had been kept from 1658, but the factory at the capital was not again settled until 1662. In 1659, Camboja had been invaded by the Cochin-Chinese, and the English and Dutch factories plundered, but the factors escaped, having bribed their jailors.[2] They contrived to hire a junk, and in it they sought refuge in Ayuthia, where they were received with great courtesy by the king, who fed and clothed them.

[1] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C., 2726.
[2] Letter from Bantam dated August 13, 1659. India Office Records.

CHAPTER II.

TRADE RE-OPENED WITH AYUTHIA.

THE fugitive factors from Camboja, on their departure from Ayuthia, in 1659, carried away with them a pleasant impression of the capital of Siam, and of the generosity of the king. On their arrival at Batavia, Mr. Rawlins, one of their number, delivered to the Council a message from his Siamese majesty desiring the reopening of commercial relations between himself and the East India Company.[1]

The attention of the authorities at Surat was directed, about this time, doubtless by the Council at Batavia, to the importance of Ayuthia as a place of trade. They accordingly took steps to reopen communications with the merchant king, and selected the ship *Hopewell* to proceed to the Menam under the command of Richard Bladwell,[2] the merchandise in the vessel being placed under the charge of their factors, John South, Thomas Cotes,[3] and William Andrews.

The vessel sailed from Surat in the end of 1660,[4] or the

[1] Bantam letter, 13th Aug., 1659.

[2] In the list of merchants employed at Bantam and subordinate factories, September 1643, a Richard Bladwell appears as the last of six persons mentioned as on the ship *William*. In another Bantam list, dated December 29, 1645, Richard Bladwell is the eighth out of thirty employés of the Company, and is entered as assistant to the warehouse-keeper; but in a list for 1650, his name does not occur.

[3] Thomas Cotes was third Councillor at Bombay in 1669, and second Councillor, in 1671, with Phillip Gyfford as first. He is described as "a civil man of good abilities," of "sober life and conversation, and very able to serve," &c., and "experienced as well to the southwards as the northwards." Gyfford and he, however, had their full share of the superstitions of the times, as they condemned a man at Bombay, in 1671, to be burned as a wizard. *See* Appendix B.

[4] Surat Consultations 1661.

beginning of 1661, and on the 1st September[1] of the latter year John South wrote to John Lambton at Surat that they had been troubled with a "bad sayle and an unexperienced pilott," and had in consequence not reached Banda until the 10th April, 1661. After remaining there about ten days, and passing by Batavia, South records, "our Worp^h. Bladwell would goe to see ye towne," where they spent some days. Bladwell is spoken of as having "carryed himselfe all ye voyage in such a scornefull high of pride that divele himselfe could not doe more." Owing to this visit to Batavia, and the slowness of their progress, they had to abandon their intention to visit Japan, and they accordingly altered their course, on 1st May, and made directly for Siam; but their headstrong captain took his ship "such a way," South believed, "never ship went before." By the beginning of June, they got over the *bar* of Siam, and after sending up to the city, "it being 100 miles up," the king, it is stated, "gladly forgave them the old debt under hand and seale," and so they "returned into ye old factory howse againe; but Bladwell[2] made us stinke in ye nostrills of all nations; and all ye greate men sweare he is rotten at harte, hopinge next yeare, when factory is seatled, he may not continew here." South resolved to remain at Ayuthia that year, and afterwards to return to Surat, for a month or two, and then "backe againe heather," which, he observes, would be "as tedious as an Europe voyage." He informed his correspondent that he had "sent a considerable estate again for Macaw from hence, meetinge with a good friend here, wch will be here again in February next; . . . since o^r beinge here

[1] On a part of this letter is written, "The . . . . Coppie I sent you the p^me October, via Tenassare, by a good friend." Ind. Off. Rec. O. C. 2895.

[2] This man, on his return in the *Hopewell* to Surat, escaped from justice to Bussora; but on his return thence, in the end of 1662, he was seized at Rajapore, under the *alias* of Alexander Davison, and placed in irons on board the *Convertine*, and afterwards sent as a prisoner to London. Another of his aliases was Agga Mohamed. He engaged with Cotes at Siam in private trade, and more extensively on his own account, after the return of the *Hopewell* to Surat; for this reason he was made a prisoner.

15 saile of Duch have bin here, and weekly goe and come, and now are arrived from Macassa 5 galles, and from Jehor and Acheene 3 vessells. . . . 'tis absolutely the best Scale I have bin at in India." So impressed was South with the importance of Siam as a place of trade, and of the money that could be made there, that he suggested to Lambton[1] at Surat that he should get one of his brothers made second at Siam, and recommended him to send his brother Richard, as being "a notable plodder and quicke, and very fitt for" such a place as Siam. The Dutch chief at Siam he described as "a notable fox[2] of twenty years' standing;" and Richard Lambton he recommended to bring his wife with him, as the place was peaceable, and "the Duch havinge wife and children and store of women in his house." Besides there were 300 to 400 families of Portugals, with their wives and children. "Mr. Cotes," he wrote, "now stayes here as a pawne," and that he (South) would rather reside in Siam than in any other place in India, but that there will be trouble at the beginning, and the old factory would have to be changed, and a new house built in a more convenient place.

The foregoing account of the voyage of the *Hopewell*[3] was

[1] During the above period there were three brothers of the name of Lambton at Surat, viz. John, Richard, and Ralph, and, as their mother is spoken of as Lady Lambton, they were probably connected with the family of the Earls of Durham. In the Court Minutes for the 9th September, 1664, it is recorded that Lady Lambton requested "ye Court to renew their orders to Sir George Oxinden concerning her sonnes at Suratt, in their next missive thither, and that she might have the favour of putting a letter into ye Company's packquett."

[2] This was probably Van Vliet.

[3] The factors sent to Surat in the *Hopewell* the following list of "goods vendible" at Ayuthia:—

Brampore Sattin, white, of 5 hands broad.
Cassa, a slight white Sallu, from 1 to 5 rupees per peice.
Mullmull, another sort of White Sallu.
Sabriam, a very fine white Sallu, 5 or 6 hands broad.
Atlas, with broad stripes; the middle sort worth at Bengalla 1½ rup. p. peece, at Siam 4 or 5 rupees p. peice.
Berry, a sort of thinn Taffatie, yellow colour best acceptable.
Longees of all sorts very vendible at this port, those longers of which Richard Bladwell hath a muster by him.

Brampore is probably Berhampore, which was famous for its silk manufactures. *Cassa*, in the Dict. Univ. de Commercé, &c., par J. Savary de Bruslons, 4 vols., Copenhagen, 1759, is classed as a cotton cloth from Bengal. Buchanan Hamilton, in his description of Purneah in the "History, Antiquities, &c., of Eastern India" (edited by M. Martin), 1838, vol. iii. p. 327,

sent to Surat in the vessel itself, which sailed from Bangkok a few days after the letter was written, leaving John South and Thomas Cotes to manage the Company's affairs.

Thomas Cotes also corresponded with the Council at Surat. His first letter has not been found among the records at the India Office, but the President's and Council's reply to it exists, and in it they express their regret at his "necessitated stay" at Ayuthia, "which they heartily wished had been otherwise." He was informed, now that the *Hopewell* had returned to Surat, that the voyage had been a loss to the Company, and that they had but little encouragement to repeat the experiment; and as they had no intention to do so until they had orders from the Court of Directors, he was instructed to return to Bantam in a Dutch ship, of which there were many coming and going between that port and Ayuthia. Before taking his departure he was to secure a house and any debts due, and was to inform the "vissiers" that the Honourable Company had been advised of the king's favour, and that their answer would be communicated to him. On his arrival at Bantam, he was fully to inform the Company's servants there of the trade, "that it may be settled to their content." [1]

Cotes, in his letter of 2nd December 1662, informed the President at Surat of the goods adapted to the Ayuthia market,[2] and then proceeded to say, "The money left in my

mentions *khasa* as a beautiful white calico made in that district. It is probably derived from the Arabic *hhāss*, signifying special, particular, royal. Atlas, "an obsolete word for satin, from the Arabic *atlas*, still used in German" (Yule-Burnell, *l. c.*, p. 29); see also Savary's Dict. Univ., &c., vol. i. p. 259. *Berry*, this probably refers to the "draps de Berry," a thick woollen cloth called after the French province (previous to 1789), in which it was manufactured (Univ. Dict. of Trade and Commerce, by Malachy Postlethwayt, 2 vols., 1774, vol. i., article "Berry"). *Longees*, see *Loonghee*, Yule-Burnell Gloss., p. 396.

1 This letter was signed by Matthew Andrews, the President, and by John Lambton, member of Council. Matthew Andrews was deposed from the Presidentship, in 1662, and dismissed the service for infringement of his bond of £10,000. John Lambton, who brought the charges against him, died soon afterwards.

2 Baft, narr. black a good sort.
Red S'ella.
Red Birams, not very course.
Red S'alue, fine, and some wth Gold ends.
Chints Acbma; ye ground red.
Salue, fine white or broune open-weaved a good quantity.
Lungees, stript white and blew, and

hands to defray my charges is neare expended, being at greater charges y^{n} I did expect, y^{t} I shall be forc'd to take up of ye King what money I shall have occasion for. I have most earnestly desired to leave to goe upon a Dutch shipp for Malacca, and from thence to Surat, ye King would not grant my request till such time as I have ord^{s} from Sur^{t}, he being very desirous y^{t} ye English should come and reside here.[1] It was unknowne to y^{e} King y^{t} wee were abus'd here last yeare, y^{t} if ord^{s} comes t'is probable wee may call y^{t} Vizier to acc^{t}, he being now put out of his place, and a very civill man in his roome. If your wor^{pp} shall think it fitting to settle a factory here most businesse may be effected $w^{th}out$ any of y^{e} king's Viziers. In $Decemb^{r}$ next I doe expect yor lres from Tenacere (Tenasserim), and shall accordingly follow yor ord^{s}, but in case lres doe not come to hand I shall indeavour all possible meanes to get away. I am all alone, and live a disconsolate life here, wch makes me weary of myself to be out of $implymen^{t}$, I hope yor wor^{p} have taken some ord^{s} for my $inlargem^{t}$, for had Mr. Bladwell been true to me, I had never staid here. Mr. South hath been here ever since y^{r} shipps *Hopewells* departure for Surat, and is now going on a Dutch ship to Battivia. Padre Mason arriv'd here in Ma^{ch} last from Macoe (Macao), and was intended for Bantam, but God disposed of him $othe^{r}$ wise, for on Michaelmasse

white and red, from 5 to 10 covids long, and a yard broad or $bett^{r}$, y^{e} $broad^{r}$ y^{e} more in request.
Long cloths and most sorts of cloth from y^{e} coast of Bengall.
Calevelo factory would furnish y^{e} place very well wth open weaved salues, coloured chints for lungees, and some other sorts.
Stript cloth as Niccanees but made of all cotton and $sevr^{ll}$ colours, an ell broad, or very near.

Baft, *bafta*, or *baffetas* is derived (according to Yule-Burnell, Glossary) from the Persian *bafta*, woven, "a kind of calico made especially at Baroch." Savary (Dict. Univ. de Commerce, t. i. p. 294), says another name for them was *Shaub.* Savary classes *Birams* (*Beiramee*, *Byrame*, or *Byrampaut*, according to the Yule-Burnell Glossary) among the cotton stuffs, but, as Yule says, their exact character is unknown. For a short note on the obscure factory here mentioned as that of Calevelo, *see* Appendix C.

[1] In a letter from Surat to the Company, dated 26th March 1667, after Cotes had returned to India, it is stated that he had been sent as second to Siam, and had been detained there by the king's earnest importunity.

day he depted y^s life. In August last I rec̃ed a letter from ye factory of Macassar, wch I have here enclosed a copy. Y^e King of Syam expects those puttolaes to be made according to those patternes Mr. Bladwell carried to Sur^t., if not to be procured those patterns to be returned."

The first attempt made by the factors of the East India Company to establish a regular trade between the Coromandel Coast and Ayuthia took place in 1663, when a ship was sent to the capital of Siam. The necessity of some such step as this had doubtless been brought home to them by the energy displayed by the Dutch.[1]

On the 19th of March of that year, the *Madras Merchant*, Cobham Doves, commander, with Robert Dearing as chief merchant, was sent to Bangkok;[2] but the ship did not arrive at its destination until the year was nearly gone. The factor at Masulipatam was instructed to inform Mr. Cotes, by way of Tenasserim, that the ship had been sent, and that he was to return in it; and as he was a servant of the Surat factory, his presence at Ayuthia would be no longer necessary, because the president and council at Surat had resolved not to continue to trade with Siam. As the vessel sailed away from Madras on this first venture

[1] In a Memorandum of 1664 preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and entitled "The Trade of India as 'tis now mannadged by the English Company of Merchants tradeing in some parts of it, is very invallid in comparison of what is droue by our neighbour nation the Dutch," it is said: "The trade on the coast of Chormandel is drove out of the Bay of Bangala upon the same course (by the Dutch), profitably furnishing them with Rice, Butter, and Sugar, with other commodities there not attainable; as alsoe, Bangala employes many vessailes to the Maldivas and Cape Commerin for a shell called Chaunke, and to the former for Couries, both there currant money, sending only Rice for Metchlipatam, many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a Port in y^t Bay which returnes Rubies and readie money, the coine or currant money of the place, allsoe Martanans Jarres." But in a report signed by Van Dam on behalf of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, and written on the 22nd October of the same year as the foregoing report, it is said, on the other hand, that the trade of *Tenacerim*, and also of *Gudiansalang* (Junk-Ceylon), was then of little importance. Thevenot's Relations de Divers Voyages Curieux, &c., Vol. ii. Art. 3. Paris, 1696.

[2] Letter from Fort George to Surat, 2d April 1663.

to Ayuthia, the Council's anxiety was not so much for the preservation of the good ship from the danger of tempests, but that "God would send her safe delivery out of the Dutch's clutches," if they should happen to have war with that nation.

A few months later, the Bantam authorities were also contemplating opening up a trade with Ayuthia, and to embrace at the same time the commerce of Camboja, Tonquin, and Macao.

The Court of Directors, however, favourably impressed with the news which had reached them of the reception of the *Hopewell*, and guided by the experience gained in that trading venture, informed the authorities at Madras that they considered the goods of the Coromandel Coast as most proper for the Siam markets. The Siam trade was then placed under Fort St. George. The authorities there, who had some time before been called upon by the Court to report on the trade of the country, wrote to the Directors on the 10th December, 1663, in the following terms:—

The Moors supply Siam with goods, which they send "*viâ* Tennassarre, but they carry them 40, dayes by land, and pay severall customes, and are at about 50 $p^{to.}$ and charges more then y^e goods y^t goe by shipping, soe y^t if wee used y^t Trade, wee shall quickly beate y^m out; The Dutch, it is true lade many shipps from thence, but y^e most of them carry provisions for Malacca and Batavia, the rest are imployed wth Tynn, Elephants Teeth, Lead and Sapan Wood, There is allsoe brought unto the place by shipping all sorts of South-Sea $com^{o.}$, Silks, Gold and pcs. of 8/8 Sug^r, Dopp, Tuttanague, Amber-Greece, Muske, Agula, Beniamen &c. The times of their Arrivall are *$viz^{t.}$*, in November and $X^{ber.}$ y^e Jappan ships in Jan^{re} y^e Tunkeen ships in $Ffeb^{ruar}$ and Ma'ch y^e Cochin, China, Maccau, and Maneella ships; when Mr. Bladwell was theire, there was 15 sayle of Dutch shipps, besides their Jappan fleete which always as they returne

south there for provisions and give newes. This is as a relation of the Trade of Syam as at p'nt wee are able to give."[1]

The Records in the India Office do not now appear to contain any documents relating to the condition of the Company's affairs at Ayuthia on the arrival of the *Madras Merchant,* beyond a letter from Mr. Dearing, written shortly after the vessel anchored in the roadstead of Bangkok. The ship had remained only for a short time in the Menam river, as it had returned to Fort St. George by the middle of the year, 1664, Mr. Robert Dearing having been left behind at Ayuthia. Thomas Cotes, and probably John South, returned in the ship, in accordance with their instructions.

At the time Mr. Dearing's letter was written we learn from it that the Dutch lay at the "bar of Siam," and had commenced hostilities against the king. Thomas Cotes also carried back similar news to the President and Council at Surat, who seemed to believe that the enmity of the Dutch to the Siamese had been prompted by jealousy of the success of the English Company at Ayuthia, as the Dutch were not credited with "kindness to any prince" who encouraged any other nation but themselves. The causes which led up to this war are now difficult to ascertain.

The Dutch had given out at Batavia that they were not only at war with Siam, but also with Acheen, and that they had entered into an agreement with the king of Java not to permit Portuguese ships to trade with Siam. The authorities of the East India Company at Fort St. George being at this period intent on cultivating amicable relations with the king of Siam, and at the same time not wishing to offend the Dutch, applied to Sir George Oxinden for instructions as to how they were to act under the circumstances, seeing they had not received any official intimation from the Dutch of their having declared war against

[1] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C. 2983.

Siam; but what resulted from their appeal to Sir George cannot be traced.

The Dutch were acting in a very high-handed manner. An incident that occurred in April, 1664, illustrates this. A ship belonging to the king of Siam, laden with elephants, arrived in Madras Roads, and there landed the huge animals, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers arising from the heavy surf. When the Dutch governor of Pulicat became aware of this, he sent in a protest to the President and Council at Fort St. George, declaring that their having allowed the elephants to be landed at Madras was a contravention of the agreement between the two companies, as the Dutch were then at war with Siam. As the ship and its cargo were consigned, not to the English, but to the king of Golconda, and as it carried a Dutch pass, the protest was held to be invalid.

That the Siamese were resenting the hostile attitude of the Dutch was reported at Pulicat by a ship from Tenasserim piloted by a Dutchman, who with two or three of his countrymen had escaped imprisonment at Tenasserim by the intervention of some Portuguese.

The authorities at Masulipatam were, in May, 1664, corresponding with Fort St. George regarding the removal of the Company's effects from Ayuthia. They preferred to bring them away overland by Tenasserim; but the Madras people, while they had not resolved to undertake the settling of the factory, suggested that a decision should be postponed until August, when the Masulipatam officials would be able to say how many ships were likely to sail from Tenasserim; and it would appear from the Memorandum on the Trade of India, in 1664, already referred to, that a considerable traffic at this period also existed between Bengal and Tenasserim, as it is recorded that a quantity of cloth found its way thither in "junks of some bignesse full laden," and that the goods were sent "from thence by rivers to Syam 8 dayes way."

The resolution of the Madras authorities not to remove

the factory at once irritated the Dutch, who informed the factors at Masulipatam that they did not intend "to transport any person or goods of theirs to Siam, or to hold any correspondence with the king of Siam," an intimation implying that they expected the East India Company to follow their example. The President and Council at Fort St. George replied "that no pretence whatever would hinder them from trading to any port or places where they had factories, although the Dutch might be at war with the Governments of those countries."

This decided expression of their policy on the part of the East India Company, and the dread the Dutch had that, if the English persevered with their factory, they might lose their hold on the trade of Siam, of which they had been masters for many years, doubtless contributed to bring about the peace concluded between Holland and Siam, on the 22nd August, 1664.

By this treaty the Siamese undertook to punish all who interfered with the Dutch in their mercantile transactions, and accorded them permission to trade throughout their kingdom on payment of the established duties. In order to secure the trade of Japan, the Dutch introduced into the treaty a clause by which the king bound himself not to employ "Chinaes" in the navigation of his ships to that country.[1] The Siamese of the banks of the Menam were not seamen enough to hazard their lives and ships on the dangerous voyage to "the land of the rising sun;" the intercourse, therefore, between the two countries was carried on by Chinese and Japanese. By this section of the treaty the Dutch therefore virtually secured to themselves the Siamese share of the Japanese trade. By another stipulation of the treaty they also obtained the monopoly of the purchase of hides,[2] as it was

[1] Letter from Bantam to Surat, dated 8th May, 1666, signed by William Turnour, James Browne, Robert Hopper, and Hamon Gibbon. O. C. 3172.

[2] In those days immense numbers of buffaloes and deer were destroyed, both in Siam and Cambodia, for the sake of their skins, which were exported chiefly to Japan. Probably

agreed that they should have the exclusive right of buying them from the king.

By another provision of this one-sided treaty, the king undertook to supply the Dutch annually with 10,000 pecul of sappan-wood.

There was, however, a still more remarkable clause than any of those already indicated, and this was one which gave immoral Dutchmen, who had an affection for their ill-begotten offspring, "liberty to carry their bastards" to the capital of Siam;[1] a very doubtful privilege so far as the Siamese were concerned.

After this treaty had been concluded, the Council at Bantam wrote to the Directors in London[2] as follows: "We understand that if the king of Syam by our king shall be protected from the Dutch we shall have the Trade of his countrey, and soe doubtless will the king of Camboja

the handsome animal, Schomburgh's deer, *C. cambojensis*, formed a considerable percentage of the victims, which may probably account for its rarity at the present time. And I would here enter a protest against the indiscriminate slaughter to which *C. eldi* has been, and is still, subjected on the plains behind Moulmein, where it is being slowly but surely exterminated.

At Camboja the Dutch employed some of the principal native merchants to obtain the skins of the buffaloes and deer, giving to each a quantity of cloth representing a certain value in hides, to be supplied to them by a certain time. To procure the hides the merchants adopted the following course:—"They with this cloth intrust many hundreds of poore men (wh have not Rice to eat for the time of hunting without they be trusted), these about July, when the country of Camboja is all overflowed with the ffreshes that falls from the high land of Champa being to the westward of it and the high land of Syam to the northward goss down the River to the plaenes, where infinites of wild Buffeloes are who feeding for this tyme of the yeare, of that that growes in the water, in 20 dayes tyme their hoofes fall off that when they come out of the water they can scarce stand then with their lances and poysoned Arrows they kill them for their hides and hornes their hides they dry, and when they have got the quantity they conditioned for, bring them up, to one of the fower, their Trustee, for their Deere when the waters is hight they fly to those high places the water overflowes not, and are soe numerous the countrey people with their doggs, kill multitudes of them; for their skins, dry them and allso when they have their quantity bring them up."—*Letter from Bantam to the Company, London, dated December* 31, 1664. O. C. 3041/2.

[1] Letter from Bantam dated 8th May, 1666.

[2] Letter dated 31st December, 1664. O. C. 3041/2.

as also Pullimbam and Benjar for the way now of the Dutch is by their great fleets soe to terrifie most kings in these seas, that they for feare not for love makes this contract." From this it would appear that the treaty of 1664 was exacted at the cannon's mouth.

The Company's servants at Bantam, to whom doubtless the trading exploits of Cocks, Adams, and Eaton were well known, resolved to make an effort to reopen the trade with Japan by Siam and Camboja, and they consequently wrote to the Directors in the last-quoted letter to the following effect:—

"Two shipps for a tryall will be sufficient the one about 4 the other two hundred tunns, they must bee built very strong (for the seas to the Eastward of Macaw will try the honesty of the carpinter), and keepe a good wind to weather the many shoulds and islands which destroys many A Dutch shipp. The tyme you have pitched upon the beginning of September, is soone enough to saile out of the Downes, for then by the blessing of God she may in Ffeb. arrive in Bantam, at which place if you please to inorder their takeing in their proportion of Pepper they have tyme enough to doe it before the westerly winds come in, except you will have them beat it—against the monthzoone to Jamby in case the Europe shipps have carried away your pepper (but before you resolve to send please give us notice that pepper may be provided) soe that if as before, you have not a ffactory settled either at Syam or Camboja, or both, a yeare before to provide against your shipps comeing, you may bee frustrated in your getting any comodityes for doubtless they will be bought up at Syam. . . . The Dutch sends shipps yearly to both places and brings comodityes to Batavia.

"In 1661 at the desire of S^r^. Tho. Cambrelan (Chamberlain), then Deputie your agent did present him, with a breife relation of Camboja, and its trade as allso the Trade of Syam, the trade of Japan and Chyna, and the depen-

dance the Trade of Camboja and Syam hath on the other two especially Japan.

(Signed) QUARLES BROWNE.
PHILIP TRAVORS.
THO. STEVENSON.
THOS. HARRINGTON.
JAMES BROWNE."

In 1664–65, Sir Edward Winter, President at Fort St. George, was superseded,[1] and Mr. Foxcroft appointed in his stead; but he took the law in his own hands, and cast Mr. Foxcroft into prison, on what afterwards proved to be a false charge of sedition, and kept him there for three years. This, however, was not accomplished without resort to physical force, in which Mr. Foxcroft, his son, and Mr. Sambrooke were wounded, and Mr. Dawes killed.[2] This disgraceful mutiny Sir Edward Winter had brought about in his own interests, and apparently to give him time to realise the proceeds of his various private adven-

[1] In a letter from Fort St. George, dated December 5, 1664, to the Honourable Company, it is mentioned that a Mr. Buckridge had proposed to send the *George and Martha* to Tenasserim, but that the Council had opposed it. From Sir George Birdwood's Report on the Old Records in the India Office we learn (p. 38) that this vessel was commissioned by the Company on the 11th July, 1662, and that the ship was commanded by Captain Egmont. In October, 1888, while walking along Little Russell Street, Bloomsbury, from the British Museum, my eye caught sight of an old MS. in a shop-window, bearing the signature of Mr. Oxinden (afterwards Sir George Oxinden, President of Surat), Councillor at Fort St. George. I went in and asked to see the MS., and found it to be a collection of documents in English and Oriental languages, the property of Mr. Buckridge, who was described in pencil, on the MS., as a great traveller in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Since this incident happened, Colonel Yule's second volume of the Diary of William Hedges has appeared, and in it (p. ccclv.) there is reproduced an "*Extract of Commission and Instructions sent to Mr.* Nicholas Buckridge *at the Fort*," dated 16th December 1663. Colonel Yule states that this "document orders Mr. Buckridge to inquire into certain reports of abuses alleged to have been committed by Sir Edward Winter in his agency at Fort St. George, and thus throws some light on the motives of his extraordinary *coup d'état*." This is doubtless the Mr. Buckridge who was interested in the *George and Martha*, and whose papers I found in Bloomsbury, two centuries and a quarter after the *coup d'état* at Fort St. George. There are frequent notices of Mr. Buckridge in the Court minutes, extending over many years.

[2] See Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. cclxxviii.

tures in trade. From a letter written from Fort St. George to Surat by Mr. George Foxcroft immediately after his release from imprisonment, it appears that Sir Edward Winter and some others had been interested in the Siam adventure of the *Madras Merchant*, and that they had sent Mr. Francis Nelthrop to Siam to look after their affairs. The following letters explain the incidents connected with these events and the fate of Dearing.[1]

The first, from William Acworth, dated Siam, 23rd October 1666,[2] and addressed to the Right Worsp. Sir Geo. Oxinden, at Surat, explains how the writer happened to be at Ayuthia and what he suffered. It says:—

"After presentation of our respects to your Worps. this sure conveyance of a friend of mine, obliged mee to render to your Worsp the transaction since my unfortunate resolution for theis partes, being in february 166$\frac{4}{5}$ bound for Achein in Mr. Jarseys [3] Ruby notwithstanding newes of a Dutch warr, resolved the haszard of being a prisoner in Batavia rather then continue amongst those unhappie differences at the Coast; endeavouring a voydance of them, have since encountred a Labrinth of troubles as your Worsp may perceive here after;

"The 15 of March with a vessayle of Sr Edward Winters, in whom was one Jno. Stanford arrived together at Tanasare, hee inordered by Sr Edwd. Winter to receive his parte of the Madras Merchants Cargoe, after the Governour deteyning of us two months there till the time of the Raines pretending Kings goods must goe first; wee embarked in small boats, eight dayes passage up the River thence to take Carts, being forced to pich our owne tents of Bamboos and

[1] In the beginning of 1666, the authorities at Fort St. George were not aware that Dearing was dead, as in a letter, dated the 9th January, the President and Council wrote to the Company that they had "great expectations of Mr. Robert Dearing returning from Syam," but that "the various reports of several lately come over from those parts, whether true or false, cannot tell, but makes many dubious of his intentions to come hither."

[2] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C. 3197.

[3] This is the William Jearsey of whom Colonel Yule has given a short notice. Diary of William Hedges, vol. ii. p. cxcix.

Kejans, in a small Village called Jallenga, where all Travellers overland takes carts from Tanasare to Syam.

"By reason of the Kings goods here, deteyned one month and half in the Raines, and lying not above a foot from the moyst ground, gave all of us such feavers and fluxes being eight of us in Company, did not thinke half of us should live to Syam, it pleased God all of us arrived in July following safe, there wee found Mr. Dearing in perfect health, in short time after three of them ended their dayes. Mr. Deering falling sick dispatches Mr. Stanford with a considerable quantity of Goods and Money, takeing all the Goods he bought at unreasonable rates, nay 600 Cattees or thirty thousand p^{s}. $\frac{8}{8}$ of the King at 2 p. c. p. month interest consign'd it solly to S^{r}. Edward which will adde fewell to the fire; Mr. Stanford no sooner in possession, but presently repaires to Tanassarre, leaving Mr. Deering disparately ill, and me upon recovery, not 9 dayes after to my great griefe departs Mr. Deering, leaving mee unknowne to the qualitie of the people, or insight of their conditions, which since have sadly Experienced, now patience must cure my misfortunes; the King issueth out his Chopp to take charge of the factorye, sorely agst. my will, being alone forced to obey with; few dayes after in presence of the Portug^{all}. Padrees, which were chief of noate in theise parts, took a view of his papers can find not any will which much troubled mee; found abundance of Debtors near twenty, five thousand P^{s}. $\frac{8}{8}$ I veryly believe these debts allmost broke his heart, thinking of no other remidie, took use this money of the King to discount those debts.

"S^{r}. I demanding theis Debts, fores't mee to complaine to the Justice of the Countrey, nothing will they doe upon fair meanes, notwithstanding bills under their owne hands, denye their debts swearing one for another, I meane Portuguzes if may believe report this; two years have bin upwards of a Thousand maintained p. Mr. Deering lending them money, have made several petitions to the Bercalong, nothing but

faire promises, nay a great many not able to pay, the interest runns high, all I advised Mr. Jearsy in March last, without the debts recovered not halfe enough to satisfye the King.

"In Aprill arrives heer one John Seale from Tanasare Sr. Edwds. servant thinking to gett more for Sr. Edwards Accot. and enordered to take charge of the Factory, which should have been gladly surrendered upon sufficient order upon a short time after his arrivall hapned a Dr. of Mr. Deerings, one Jno. de Silva de Gama p. name, a portuguese owed more a thousand pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$, was murdered in his chamber, the Portuguese very privatly gives information to the Bercalong,[1] that it was done by one of my people and by my order this young man whom they accused was my linguister, thinking thereby to have swallowed up what was in the factorye; nay tould the Bercalong that by reason of our Kings marriage they could have taken charge of the factory, having complayned severall times and noe justice, being told the King had great respect for our Nation, in the factorye discharged severall Armes, which the King heard, having a petition readie to deliver for what reason did fire gunns, which the Bercalong well knew, least should come to trouble takes Councell, and when asked by the King for what fired those gunns, said I had killed a Portuguess, and would have done the like by him, without shewing the least cause for it, for this so enraged endeavours together with portuguess to take away my Life; being sent for to come to him, not mistrusting of his devised intentment with a petition, no sooner entered his Court yard but seised on by Capt. Burre de Pino, accompanied with 12 Portugueses, and more 300 Siams (some of them Mr. Deerings Drs.) laying all of them violent hands on mee, as if would have destroyed mee that moment, demanding for what; said, for killing a man, well knowing my inocencie, not at the

[1] In Siamese, *Phra-klang*, a treasurer, who discharged the functions of foreign minister, or more strictly, superintendent of trade. Satow, *l. c.*, p. 176, *footnote*.

least disdaunted, asked for my Accusars, one and all my Accusars using base language, much contented; within a short time comes the Bercalong, after one hours discoursed, and Councell taken, I call'd, asked who fir'd the gunns, answer'd my selfe and servants, and for what reason deleiver'd my petition, which was accepted, this done I desired to know if hee had enordered me to be so affronted, or charged me with the death of the man, or because I was alone, and that, that afront to mee was nothing but representing our whole Nation being alone, here after must have sattisfaction, not answering anything, was dismist, after he sent a great Officer with 100 men, to carry me to prison, which indeed was cruell, if it had been a haynous Mallafactor to bee thought of, could not have done more, find severall prissons served on me very cruell, the young man my company keeper presently after my committing to prison, sent for, cruell torments serv'd on him, asking whether he would confess that by my order he kild the man, none accusing but a Coffree his owne servant, whom that blood thirsty Portuguess had hired, as afterwards was confessed, this done and no confession, was tendered Tigers to be devoured alive, then to the Ellephants, then to be spitted alive, It pleased God he resolved for the truth to dye, or to pass whatever affliction served on him, knowing his Inocencie, the young man not above 18 years of Age, was cruelly marterized beyond relation, nay God is just, the chiefe accuser standing by seing those cruell torments served on him, it pleased God so to afflict him that he narrowly escaped life, this done, a poor Cooly served wch in that factory had all his Bones broken, sharp pinns runn under his nayles of his fingers and toes, he will never recover it, his fingers rotting off, all would not doe, aft^r^ 12 dayes imprisoment released mee, Mr. Seale, Sr Edward Winters expecting to end his dayes; and about 2 days after my returne home the 10 July Mr. Seale dieth; At my releasing was sent for by the Bercalong, being ashamed of his Actions, cryes pecavie, feeds me

with sweet words, said the King was angry for firing the Armes in the factory, and that I was imprisoned for nothing else, your Worsp. judge the devellishnes of the people could not obteine their wicked intent, would feed mee with many complements, but if one day not satisfaction for this unjust action, t'will bee ashame for the English to have trade here, the whole country cry shame of this base Act, as the bearer hereof will informe you: only for firing a fowling peece or two, for to demand justice, never being advised by any, that should not discharge or cleanse our Armes (on our own ground) with only powder.

"In September last arrived Mr. Tho. Goodyer, Purser of a small vessell of Mr. Jearsies, was taken in Aprill last by the Dutch, and carried to Batavia, he escaping in a Prow to Bamtam from thence hither, tells mee that Mr. Browne and his wife are dead, Mr. Turner succeeding. The Dutch report our River to be blockt upp, a great plague in England, and that our Fleet could not come out, this is usuall to them.

"There came but 2 ships hither this yeare, tho one went for Jappan, and the other came to lade Rice for Batavia, they have within a few days lost a shipp upon this Coast, which came from Mallacca, this King will much rejoice theire downfall, as well as the Rest of yr Southerne Kings, Macasser hath warr with them.

"Sr. if the Trade of China should be open as it is thought, this place might be considerable, otherwise of no vallew, or unless Elliphants sell well at the Coast, then from thence to Tanassare very profitable. If your Worsp. intend a shipp for this place, or Tanasare, please to take advice of the bearer here of, Zacharias Arichocke a Armenian, whom I am very confident will fully relate to your Worsp. all transactions of theis parts. Craving pardon for my largeness herein, subscribe | Your Worsp. humble servant to comd.. WILLIAM ACWORTH.

"SYAM, 23 *Oct.* 1666."

After the death of Mr. Dearing, Sir Edward Winter sent another of his servants, called Francis Brough,[1] with instructions to bring back Mr. Nelthrop, and with "the help of some Portingalls his confederates," he was to seize him and bring him in irons to Madras, along with whatever he could find of his and Mr. Dearing's property. "Accordingly they did seize upon him at Syam (Ayuthia), and in an unhuman manner haled him through ye woode to Tenassare, and there imbarked him, laden wth irons, into a Juncke bound from thence to St. Thomas." Mr. Foxcroft adds, "I had given orders to ye ffrench padries at ye arrivall of ye Juncke, to endeavour his rescue, and send him wth gard to Metchlepatam (it being in ye tyme of our . . . imprisonm^t) y^t might to him give an account of ye business he sent him about, in his voyage y^s way he was in irons made a companion wth ye Elephants wch came upon ye Juncke at the arrivall of the Juncke at St. Thomas, Mr. Nelthrop by ye favour of an officer on board wch he had purchased, found means to leape overboard in to ye sea, and soe got into a Catamaran, and safe a shore, and from thence went for Metchlepatam."

In a letter from Mr. Foxcroft and his Council to the Surat authorities, dated April 15, 1669, it appears that Mr. Dearing was poisoned "by a black servant, he trusted as a scrivener in his business." This man possessed himself of the factory, and all that it and Mr. Dearing had, and so raised himself "from a poore fellow not worth a favour to a great estate, and after dyed also himself." Then his brother and the Portuguese stepped in, "and made such havocke, that it was much to be doubted y^t y^r will be a totall loss of w^t soever Mr. Dearing had of his owne and other mens in his hands." The brother of the black servant had also become in debt to the king for a large sum at interest, and as the latter would doubt-

[1] Brough was resident at Masulipatam in 1670, and while there, in 1678, he was accused by George White, merchant, with dishonestly retaining his money, and other strong terms were applied to him.

less recompense himself by laying hold on what he could, and as he had made general adventures to several places, they had little expectation of making anything from the Siam adventure, unless the Surat authorities were prepared to make Sir Edward Winter disgorge some of the wealth he had derived from it.

A few days later (22nd April, 1669), some letters from Siam, addressed to Sir Edward Winter, or whoever was then in the Government, were received at Fort St. George. These letters attributed the ruin of the factory at Ayuthia to Andrew de Souza and Francis Brough, 'who is ruled by him and in feare of him, and that the said Souza, and an English pylate have made havoc of what was of value in yᵉ ffactory, and seem to imploy that all yᵉ ruyn to yᵉ ffactory came by yᵉ neglect and abuse of Gabriel Forrer and his brother after his decease. Of what truth or importance this information may be, and whatever to make of them, or of that letter you had from the Barcalon so called shall be considered before the departure of Mr. Lock's vessel to Siam, which we understand is bound thither, and shall very speedily send you the copy of their letters received, to have your sense and judgment concerning them, and advise what is fittest to be done in your case, and whether what may concern the Company's interest there may or require the sending over some of your servants about it.'

The lamentable condition into which the factory at Ayuthia fell after Mr. Dearing's death was the cause of the Company's interests in Siam remaining in abeyance for a year or two.

In 1672, the chief Governor and Council of the United Netherlands Company at Batavia wrote to their Directors in Holland that they had had no further advices from Siam since the return of their yacht the *Parrett*, and that they had thereupon resolved to send no goods to their factory until they had received some fresh information. They had been driven to adopt this course of action owing to some

misunderstanding they had with the Siamese, and also to their having captured the king's ship the *Philip and Ann* on its way from Bombay to Bangkok. This dispute had affected adversely, not only Siamese trade, but that of the Dutch as well. Towards the middle of 1673, however, hostilities seem to have ceased, as it is recorded that the Dutch at Gombroon, who had been "much disgusted for want of their usual shipping,"[1] hailed the arrival at that port of a vessel flying the colours of the king of Siam,[2] who for long had been a recognised and extensive trader with the Persian Gulf.

Towards the end of 1673, or in the beginning of 1674, Ayuthia was visited by Mr. Nicholas Waite,[3] who forwarded to the President at Bombay a favourable report on the trade of Siam. He had apparently gone to Ayuthia from Bombay on a voyage, also to embrace Macao, and undertaken chiefly as a private adventure, but the authorities at Bombay seem not to have been aware that the factory at Ayuthia was closed. However, when they learned the fact from Nicholas Waite, who had "pretended great gain to himself and others" by the voyage, they wrote to the Court in London:[4] "we shall forbear all

[1] Letter from Gombroon to Surat, 19th April 1673.

[2] Letter from Bantam dated 23rd February 1674/5.

[3] Nicholas Waite ultimately rose to be President of the New (or English) East India Company (Yule in Diary of Sir Wm. Hedges, vol. ii. p. cxxxix.). Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras, and grandfather of the famous first Earl of Chatham, wrote to Waite in 1700 as follows:—"I perceive you would use your fellow-subjects as some did in Oliver's day, for which afterwards they justly and severely suffered" (Hedges' Diary, vol. iii. p. li.); and Pitt's cousin at Madras also wrote to Waite, "We shall Conclude with the observation that none but the Son of Such a Father" (*ibid.*, p. lvii.). Colonel Yule is of the opinion that these references by the Pitts to Oliver Cromwell, and to Waite's father, point to his being a son of Colonel T. Waite, or Wayte, one of the pretended judges at the mock trial of Charles I., and one of those who signed and sealed the sentence of death pronounced on that unhappy king. The Lives of the English Regicides, &c. London, 2 vols., 1798, vol. ii. p. 310. See also The Indictment, Arraignment, Tryal, and Judgement, at large, of Twenty-nine Regicides, the Murtherers of his Most Sacred Majesty King Charles I. of Glorious Memory, &c. London, 1714.

[4] Letter from Bombay to the Honble. Coy., August 20, 1674.

private trade without your permission, and attend your orders for such shipping as you shall empower us to send from hence, though it would be no loss to you to permit your servants and freemen of Bombay to open a trade to those places at their own adventures."

The king of Siam was also exercised at the loss he was sustaining by reason of the impaired trade between his capital and India, and had consequently caused his "Upera, or king's chief merchant," to write to the President at Bombay, inviting him to send ships from Bombay and Surat to Siam, and asking him to grant a general pass for his own ships, that they might not be molested by any of the English shipping; a request which reveals how unsafe his interests were on the high seas, when his ships had the misfortune to encounter any of the unprincipled English captains of those days, some of whom were little better than pirates.

The king's aspirations, after a renewal of trade with England, were answered, at the end of 1674, by the arrival of a ship which had had an eventful voyage in the seas of Formosa, Japan, and China.

CHAPTER III.

THE SHIP 'RETURN' AT JAPAN.

THE ships *Return* and *Experiment* were sent out to the East from England, in 1671. From Bantam, they sailed direct to the island of Formosa, and, in July, 1672,[1] both vessels were lying in the roadstead of Tywan. From this island, the two ships were to have proceeded to Japan, but this intention was abandoned, so far as the *Experiment* was concerned, as that vessel set sail for England, on the 19th November, 1672. The *Return*, after a prolonged stay at Tywan, departed for Japan, and arrived at Nagasaki on the 29th June, 1673.[2] The factors, however, had only been about one week in that port, when in sailed the *Experiment*, carrying the Dutch flag, and manned by Dutchmen, a circumstance recorded in their Diary in the following words: "To our great grief and discontent we saw our companion a prisoner, God knows what they have done with the ship's company, but to our apprehension she was no ways damnified, so that the parting from us in the time of peace, we judge her to have been surprized, the truth God knows," who they hoped would keep them out of the hands of the Hollanders.[3]

The factors of the *Return* were not permitted by the Emperor of Japan to settle a factory in his dominions; and so much was their presence disliked, that they were commanded, doubtless at the instigation of the Dutch, to leave

1 Abstract from the Tywan Diary and Consultations, 1672, India Of. Rec., Java, vol. iv.

2 Ind. Off. Rec., Java, vol. iv.

3 Kæmpfer's Japan, vol. i., Second App., p. 8.

the port, which they did, in August, 1673, a fact recorded in a minute drawn up on board the *Return*, in lat. 31° N. In this document it is also said that the English were then at war with the Dutch, who were "very potent in these seas." The vessel sailed for Macao, and arrived there in September; and it appears, that while it was at that port, news had reached the agent at Bantam that it was to sail for Siam, and, in the beginning of 1674, he believed that it was already there. By that time peace had been concluded with the Dutch, and the agent hoped that the good tidings would have reached the factors of the *Return*, overland by Tenasserim. The hardships undergone by the ship's company had been such that, at the end of 1673, four or five men had died, whilst others had become enfeebled by dysentery, Mr. Simon Delboe and Mr. John Robinson being "troubled with a flux."[1]

From Macao the factors wrote, on the 2nd December, 1673,[2] to the authorities at Bombay, complaining of the "inconveniences" to which they had been put by the Portuguese of that place, and we learn from one of their letters, written from either Ayuthia or Bangkok, on the 13th Feb^{y}., 1675, that they must have been detained at Macao a considerable time. From Macao, the vessel sailed to Lampacao,[3] where, after a short stay, they were enabled to dispose of all their "pepper and a little cloth, &c., in truck for such China comodityes" as they judged "most for the profit and advantage."

Towards the end of November, 1674, the merchants were ready to depart from Lampacao, and they accordingly issued an order to Captain Atkins to set sail for "Bencoke in the river of Syam." The ship left Lampacao on the 28th November, and encountered a strong north-

[1] Letter from Bantam, 21st January $167^{4}/_{5}$.

[2] Ind. Off. Rec. O.C., 3902.

[3] Alexander Hamilton says the province of Quansi had 80 leagues of sea-coast, and was bounded by the "Limpacao" islands and Canton river; and in a map he places "Limpacao" in the position of the island of Hong-Kong. *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 216.

easterly gale, before which it ran to the south end of the island of Aynam (Hainan). It passed Cape Anerrella on the 2nd December, and on the following day it was off the south end of the "parrasells" (Paracels), and, on the 5th, they sighted Pulo Ubi, but winds and currents being against them, the ship did not anchor near the "Barr of Siam" until the 18th December.

On the arrival of the ship, Messrs. Simon Delboe,[1] Hamon Gibbon,[2] Benjamin Sanger,[3] Fytche Nedham,[4] and William Ramsden[5] went up the river to *Indica* (Ayuthia) in the pinnace.

When they reached the capital, they were gladdened with the news that peace had been concluded with the Dutch. They were well received by the king, but they made a very bad beginning, in their intercourse with him, as one of their first acts was to borrow a large sum of money (10,000 dollars) to enable them to obtain a cargo for their ship, which it was absolutely necessary should be dispatched at once, if they were to take advantage of the monsoon.[6] This debt to the king largely contributed to the ruin that ultimately befell the Company's affairs in Siam.

[1] Mr. Simon Delboe had come out from England with the *Return*.

[2] Mr. Hamon Gibbon, or Hamond Gibbon, was at Bantam, in May, 1666, and, two years later, was third in the Agency. In November, 1671, he was at Gombroon, and returning to Bantam, joined the *Return* on the arrival of this vessel at that port.

[3] Mr. Benjamin Sanger appears to have been one of the factors sent out in the *Return*. In the Court Book, of the 4th November, 1675, he is erroneously spoken of as Benjamin Sanker, and on that date was appointed chief at Tonquin, an appointment, however, which he never took up.

[4] Mr. Fytche Nedham or Fitz Needham was also one of the assistants to the factors, and was sent out from England, in 1671 (Court's letter to Bantam of 21st September, 1671). In this document it is said: "Mr. Fitz Needham at 20*l*, whoe though he hath not readiness of speech, yet will he very serviceable in writing in the accompting house, and hath some skill in limbring and clock worke, therefore we designe him for Japan to take care of our clocks and works."

[5] William Ramsden was also one of the factors of the *Return*.

In the vessel were also Richard Jennings, Samuel Potts, George Chown, William Tyrril, and Anthony St. Leger, and seemingly John Robson and John Keppell.

[6] Bantam Consultations, 20th July 1676, Java, vol. vi.

The pinnace was sent back to the ship with the news of the peace, and with a Dutch pilot to take the vessel up to Bangkok, and on 2nd January, 1675, it anchored "near the castel of Bancoke."

After remaining in his ship about a month, Captain Atkins proceeded to Ayuthia, under orders from his chief, Mr. Delboe, to arrange for the departure of the vessel for Surat, as the "season was getting late." When he went ashore at Bangkok, on the 3rd February, he learned the sad tidings that poor enfeebled Simon Delboe had died at Ayuthia, on the 31st January, doubtless worn out by his long illness. He was succeeded by Mr. Hamon Gibbon. William Ramsden was made second factor, and Benjamin Sanger third; Richard Jennings and Samuel Potts having been appointed writers.

When Captain Atkins reached Ayuthia, he found that Messrs. Gibbon, Sanger, and Nedham, had gone to Louvo [1] with great presents to the king, but Ramsden had been too unwell to leave the capital. Captain Atkins had therefore to return to his ship; but as some of the sailors he had brought in the pinnace refused to go back with him, having been encouraged by some of the factors to remain behind, he had to engage "blacks" to take him down the river.

The factors were so gratified with their reception at Ayuthia and Louvo, that they resolved to remain at the factory [2] and to dispatch the ship to Surat, "as there were few goods in Siam that would turn to good account

[1] Louvo, Livo, or Levo was at this period the residence of the kings of Siam, during nine or ten months of the year, and was also their hunting-seat. This city, according to Pallegoix (t. i. p. 95), who calls it Nophaburi, claimed a much higher antiquity than Ayuthia, as it was said to have been founded in 600 A.D., being at that time the capital of a small kingdom. It is the *Lŏphāburi* of the Siamese, a Sanskrit or Pali rendering (Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 601) of *Nava-pura*, meaning new city (*vide antea*, p. 17). The foregoing contracted terms applied to it by European nations in the seventeenth century, thus simply meant "new."

[2] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C., 4085.

at Banta." They issued an order, on the 13th February, to Captain Atkins to set sail for that port, and, a few days later, they went down the river to clear the ship, which departed on the 24th of the month, carrying with it a list of articles the king wished to obtain from the Company. Some of the transactions they had had with his majesty and his ministers they communicated to the authorities at Surat, in a letter dated the 13th February, 1675, in which they say, "As yet we have not any positive orders for our being here, but are so far engaged that at present we cannot come off;" this hindrance to their departure being doubtless their debt to the king, regarding which they were diplomatically silent, although they afterwards confessed to it.

They were well pleased with their success in having obtained from the king a *Tarra*, or license to trade, and of this they informed the President and Council at Surat in the same letter. They said that they had "found the king to be so far our friend, as to afford us such respect and privileges as he grants to any, and so far as we can learn, willing to condescend to anything that might encourage us to stay. yor Hon^{rs} will see by the enclosed *Tarra*, which Mr. Delboe asked, and the king granted, and we question not but had more been desired the grant had been enlarged, yet those that understood the lingoa say that by virtue of what we already have, we may do as much and go as far as any."

The following were the terms of this document:[1]—

"The Tarra of the Barkalong, Second Person in ye Civill Gov^{R}mt to the King of Siam.

"He hath granted to Mr. Hamon Gibbon chiefe because he hath desired to request ye King for ye errecting a ffactory for to buy & sell in this Kingome of Syam

[1] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C., 4085.

yt ye King would grant ye ffavour, of a Tarra; for his security to buy Tynn, Lead, Tutenage, Coppr, Elephants teeth, Rinoceros hornes, & all othr comoditys wch serve for Merchandize, & yt he would order yt . . . let or hinder him when he please to imbarq. . . . And that he would ordr yt thy should not take any customes or Dutyes as they doen't of ye Dutch.

"The King hath granted to ye English chiefe to buy, & sell in this Kingdome of Syam, to buy Tynn, Lead, Tutenage, Coppr., Elephants teeth, & all other sorts of comoditys yt are not p'hibited. The King hath commanded that there bee no let. And if they please to buy Elephants teeth, Renociros hornes, he requires to request a Tarra to buy according to custome.

"Another point, If the English please to ask a Tarra, for the dispatch of Ship for the lading of goods, ffor the sending a board ship in ye mouth of ye barr, That ye send to ask a Tarra, for dispatch every tyme, as ye Dutch.

"And ye English chiefe if he please to buy Tynn, Lead, Tutenage & Coppr or any such comoditys wch are not phibited, he doth not ordr any to hindr.

"And if ye English chiefe shall ask a Tarra to buy Elephants teeth, Rinoceros hornes, he send to buy according to yt Tarra wch he hath obtained.

"This Tarra was dated, Saterday this month the 7th of of ye wane of ye Moon, in ye yeare $167\frac{4}{5}$."

The *Return* did not procced to Surat by Bantam, as in the "Consultations at Bantam," for 1675, it is recorded that the authorities there had had no letters from the factors at Ayuthia. In November, however, of the same year, their expectations of gaining some news regarding the Company's affairs at the capital of Siam were aroused by the arrival at Batavia of one or more Englishmen, in the employment of their Honble. masters. As these men had not at once communicated with them, they were placed

in doubt whether they had been sent by Mr. Gibbon, or whether they had run away from their employment. They suspected, however, that they were "John Robson and John Keppell, who were designed for Japan;" and in this they proved to be correct, as it is stated in a letter from the factors in Siam, written in the beginning of January, 1676, that John Robson had been sent by them to Bantam, in the previous October, with a letter to the agent dated the 8th of that month, informing him that the *Return* had gone to Siam from Japan, and that they were then, for the time being, settled at Ayuthia.

After John Robson's departure for Bantam, the factors at Ayuthia also resolved to send one of their assistants to Fort St. George, and another to Bantam, to explain to the authorities at these two places the condition of the Company's affairs at the capital of Siam. They had, however, no person qualified to pilot the vessel they intended to send, and they are consequently found recording the following minute, on the 22nd November, 1675: "Being, after many disappointments left at Siam with a considerable estate of the Hon:ble Comp:a, and disabled to give such an account thereof as we ought to the Council at Bantam, for want of an able and sufficient pilot, we applied ourselves to Mexxa an Armenian merchant, who came hither this year from Surat on the ship '*Content*' with three Englishmen, to spare us out of them for our Hon:ble Masters, but finding him obstinate to our reasonable desire, we resolved, with one consent, by virtue of his Majesties charter granted to our Hon:ble Employers, and the estate of their affairs requiring us so to do, to demand and detain Mr. Sam:l Lifool, Master Mate of said Armenian, to be sent for Bantam by first opportunity.

(Signed) HAMON GIBBON.
WM. RAMSDEN.
BENJN. SANGER.
FYTCHE NEDHAM."

Mr. Fytche Nedham was selected to proceed to Fort St. George, the Company, at this time, being represented at Ayuthia by Hamond Gibbon, William Ramsden, Benjamin Sanger, Richard Jennings, Samuel Potts, George Chown, William Tyrril, and Anthony St. Leger, "well skilled in chyrurgery."[1]

The following letter, written on the 7th December, 1675, to the President and Council at Fort St. George, was entrusted to Nedham[2] to deliver. It was signed by Hamond Gibbon, William Ramsden, and Benjamin Sanger. It says: "Though we had not the honour to receive from you, yet we have assumed the boldness for to give unto you the trouble of a lyne, wch we hope as it hath found conveyance, may finde acceptance, we should gladly have courted yor correspondence in another Port. But what disapointments we mett with there are too notorious to be mentioned, after the multiplyed crosses of a lost voyage, It pleased the Allmightie to bring us to Syam where our Chiefe found so much encoridgment for to settle, that he was easily persuaded to proceed no farther, and so as he lefts us we remaine engaged to make, the best (as they say) of a bad markett.

"This king is very desirous to have us stay, as is clearly to bee seen both by what we have in grant and what in promise, we have allready granted whatsoever we have requested, and the word of a king that we shall have more in case of our abode, we hope since we could not carry Syam to Japan, we may have Japan brought to Syam, but as we finde by experience, wee shall hereafter speake. For a more particular account of our many moneths voyage, wee humbly refer your Worsp. to the Bearer hereof Mr. Fytche Nedham, whose earnest desire to be under your commands hath prevailed for a passage to the coast. How troublesome the want of business is to an Ingenious

[1] He had been selected by the Court of Directors, on the 7th Feb. 1671, as a fit person "to serve the Company as a surgeon." Court Minutes.

[2] For a short notice of Fytche Nedham see "Diary of William Hedges," vol. ii. pp. cclvii.–cclviii.

minde, wee need not speake, when we send you an instance, who he is we need not speake, for you who know the man.

"We are glad to heare of your good health by Mr. Georg: White, had wee rec^{d} it from your own hand, it would have been as well accept^{d}, but in hopes the next oppertunity will favour us wth what we wanted by this, we shall add no more, but the assurance that we are," &c.

But before proceeding any farther with this narrative, it is necessary to pause, and say a few words on George White, mentioned in this letter. He was a noted interloper, throughout the greater part of his career in the East; and, in a letter from the Court to Bengal, dated 3rd January, 1693–4, it is said that since the passing of their new charters they had agreed with the principal interlopers concerned in the two interloping ships then abroad, on which Captain Pitt and George White were supercargoes. As the principals had written the like value into their new stock, the Court hoped this would be an end of all their long quarrels and contentions.[1] Before he went to Siam, his name occurs in the Masulipatam Records, of 1670, as a merchant on Mr. Jearsay's ship *Consent*, then sailing between Kárwár and Gombroon, and again, in 1672, in the same capacity on the ship *Dispatch*, bound for Gombroon with a cargo of sugar and piece-goods. That he was not a permanent servant of the Company is proved by the fact that his name occurs in Mr. Mohun's[2] Diary, in "a list of Englishmen in those parts as are not in the service of the Honble. Company," and in which he is described as a merchant. He appears to have visited the capital of Siam,

[1] The substance of the quotation is taken from William Hedges' Diary, vol. iii. p. xxiii. in which Sir Henry Yule has collected a mass of most interesting material bearing on the history of Captain Thos. Pitt, who afterwards became Governor of Fort St. George, and was known as Diamond Pitt. He was the grandfather, as already stated, of one of the most illustrious of English statesmen and parliamentary orators, William, first Earl of Chatham. A portrait of Thomas Pitt, George White's fellow-interloper, adorns the pages of Sir Henry Yule's second volume.

[2] A short history of this servant of the E. I. C., will be found in vol. ii., Diary of William Hedges, pp. cclvi.–cclvii.

for the first time, in 1675, and in the succeeding year he was joined by his wife, according to an entry in the Madras Diary for the 20th May, 1676, as follows:—"A new vessel of 75 or 80 tons, built at Madapollam, and sold by Mr. Cholmely to Sir Wm. Langhorne, Agent, with some others of his Council, sailed hence for Fort St. George, and in a short time for Syam, Mr. Thomas Lucas, supercargo, Mr. Whitehead, Commander, Mrs. White, the wife of George White, Commander." Mrs. White arrived safely in Ayuthia, as her husband wrote to his correspondent, Mr. W. Ayloffe, at Masulipatam, on the 6th November, 1676, that his wife "humbly tenders her sincere and due thanks for Mr. Ayloffes kindness to her." The letter was addressed "via Tenasseree."

George White took a very active interest in the trade of the East, and, in after years, he was one of the East India Company's most inveterate enemies, opposing with a splendid energy the nefarious principle upheld by the Directors, that they had, by law, the monopoly of the East India trade, and that any outsider, who dared to take a share of it, without their sanction was an interloper, and liable to have his goods, and even his life, confiscated. In 1691, he published[1] a valuable contribution on the trade of the East, and on the management of the East India Company; and so highly was this work esteemed at the time, that it was translated at once into Dutch, at Amsterdam; nor was it a purely ephemeral brochure, as it was republished in London, nearly a century afterwards.

His brother Samuel played an important part, for a few short years, in the history of Mergui, but he only reached the East, in 1675.

But to return to our narrative. Notwithstanding their debt to the king, the factors at Ayuthia were very hopeful that the trade of Siam would prove remunerative to the

[1] An Account of the Trade of the East Indies, together with the state of the present Company, and the best method for establishing and managing that Trade to the honour and advantage of the Nation. London, 1691. 4to.

Company. They accordingly wrote to the Directors in London, on December 22, 1675, *viâ* Surat, reminding them that they had written to them by the *Return* of the civil reception beyond expectation they had had from the king. This letter was also doubtless intrusted to Fytche Nedham to carry as far as Fort St. George. It says: "The king hath bin much abused by private traders, but his carriage towards us being yor. Honrs. servants is as if the other had not bin wh. accts. yor. Honrs. have had of this place wee know not but this wee believe that had it bin as wee have seen you would have as much esteemed this place for trade as others this year came hither from Surratt 4 large ships from the coast 2. . . .

"The king by the return desired severall p'ticulars to be sent him from England an accot. whereof wee hope you have recd. by this Conveyance to Bantam he sends severll samples to bee made in Crisstoll desires velvitt of severall colours, *vizt.* purple Scarlett Sky Crimson black green blew, red of each 1 ps."

Such, according to the factors, was this king's honour, and such his bounty, that he repaid with interest what they had given him on their arrival: but they continue,—"His manderines expect their ffees and the trade will bear it tis this yt. gives credit and success to others and if wee remaine it must be done or nothing ye. Dutch as well as others are unwilling wee should settle and if money could buy us out wee should not want a markett, but wee hope soe fair a proffer being made, yor. Honrs. will not refuse it wth. out good reason Ye. king hath given us the Liberty of a free trade as desired p. Mr. Delboe and since whose decease a pticular Interest to Chaia and Champone Tattung and Pompin places from whence they bring good quantity of Tinn yt. none shall medle wth. the trade but wth. the fforfeitures of wt. Tinn they shall be found to have. . . . The Surratt men desired little but Tinn, and if this ffactory were well stored wth. money to buy it up at the best seasons it might as well turne to yor Honrs. advantage as to

othe^{rs}. wee speake wth submission but wee veryly believe that the well managm^{t} of this affair will double the benefit of a Japon trade how to order us yor Hon^{rs} need no direction it troubles us to see others doe soe much and wee so little because o^{r} hands are bound the Dutch have here a noble ffactory the Government laudable and their trade intire, may wee imitate wherein they are deserving and yor Hon^{rs} shall have the creditt as well as the advantage the place for o^{r} present residence is unfitt for trade but the king hath giving leave to choose o^{r} ground and promised to furnish us wth materialls to erect a ffactory wee can but thanke him for his kindness till further order wch the sooner wee receive the better wee have had some difference wth his merchants about ye measure of the cloth (?) ye king requireing the English y^{d} and Mr. Delboe makeing the price by the Dutch ell." But they complied with the king's desire.

"Att o^{r} first comeing, for the speedy dispatch of the ship this king was pleased to give us credit for 40 cattees of silver 300 Bahh of Tinn 1000 pec^{ll} of Sappan wood the two latter were sent to Surratt y^{e} former soe soon disbursed in ship and house expence that wee were forced to runn up 40 catt^{s} more in debt to supply the charge of the ffactory w^{t} we had of the king in money and goods amo^{ts} to 398 catt^{s} 15 taile accounting 20 taile to the catt: and the catt: to be 50 R^{a} $\frac{s}{8}$ (and something bett^{r}) w^{t} he had recd: from us in goods out of the Godowne amo^{ts} to 215 catt^{s} 8 Tec^{ll} a mass as from Bantam yor Hon^{rs} will receive advice wee should be very glad to hear and to keepe a good credit. T^{s} king proffers that if y^{r} Hon^{rs} will supply him wth silver whereof hee finds a decay he will repay them in Tinn att a cheaper rate then he offers to any, and moreover of those places he had already granted be not large enough for yor Hon^{rs} to improve y^{r} stock you shall but ask for more and you have it Charges here after a settlem^{t} will be but small especially if wee consider y^{t} be the trade never great there is no custome nor house-rent to

be p^{d} and if we build no mony for the ground on ye greatest charge will be the first settling in house-keeping and petty expenses wch in a little time will be inconsiderable. A small remembrance from his Matie to this King would add much to yor Hon^{rs} credit, His Mat^{ies} picture very acceptable and the dress pleasing concerning wch this King Askt many pretty questions as unacquainted wth those Europe clothing by the return he desired severall hatts of severall sorts and colours as now hee desires of the Dutch in small matters, where he finds compliance his custom is to gratiffie wth greater benefitts he desires likewise yor Hn^{rs} to supply him Ingineers Gunn^{rs} Refin^{rs} Goldsmiths &c., as p returne two of each, he hath a kindness for all English but a pticular kindness for yor Hn^{rs} which makes him soe desirous to have us settle, may the direction of the highest be yo^{rs} his blessing crowne yor affaires togeather wth yor undertakeing and endeavours off

R^{t} Honble

Yo^{rs} Hon^{rs} most humble and obedient Serv^{ts}

HAMON GIBBON.
WM. RAMSDEN.
BENJAMIN SANGER."

The following translation of the second license to trade, granted to them by the king accompanied this letter:—

"The Tarra wch ye Barcalons by Order of the King of Siam granted to the Honble English East India Comp^{a} November ye 6^{t} Anno Dom 1675.

"This Tarra is giveing of the Burcalon to Mr. Hamon Gibbon Capt. of the English Compa^{a} resident in the kingdome of Siam to be kept whereas the English Capt desired of Opera Sinourat y^{t} He would request the King for leave to buy Tinn in Champone[1] Chaia & Pompin

[1] Champone or Xŭmphon is on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, opposite to Păkchan on the western side, and is the Choom-pawn of M'Carthy's map. Chaia, Chiya, Chaya, or more correctly Xăija, is on the same side, nearly opposite to the island of Sămai, Samuie, or Carnam. Pompin or Phŭn-phin is situated on a small island at the head of the Xăija bay.

(besides the King's revenue) according to the price yt the people trade wth one another for ever not to suffer any Merchant to buy, as the Dutch buy in Legord.

"And the king did the favour to grant to Mr. Hamon Gibbon, Capt of the English Compa, to buy Tinn in Chaia Champone and Tattang[1] and Pompin for ever according to the price that the people trade one wth another he suffers noe Merchant to buy and he commands to sell to the Capt of the English Compa according to the common price, as the king's favour hath granted for to buy.

"This Tarra was giveing to be keept Sunday Novr ye first of the New Moon."

The following order was issued to the Governor of Xŭmphon :—

"Whereas the opera Sinurat reverently receiveing the Kings Order saith that Mr. Hamon Gibbon Capt of the English Compa who came to reside in this Kingdome of Siam desired to request the Kings favor for to buy Tinn in Champone Chaia Tattung and Pompine besides the Kings revenue according to the peoples price as they trade one wth another yt he would not suffer noe Merchant to buy as the Dutch buy in Legore.

"And the King did the favour to grant unto (for ever) Mr. Hamon Gibbon Capt of the English Compa in Siam to buy Tinn in Champone Chaia Tattung Pompine besides the King's revenue according to the price that the people trade wth one a nother for ever and he suffers noe Merchants to buy as the Dutch buy in Legore.

"And he commands the Governr to give Notice to his Deputy and all other officers, and he commands that Notice be giveing to all the people of Champone not to suffer Tinn besides the Kings revenue to bee sold to any Merchant and he commands that it be sold to the Engsh Capt for the price the people trade one wth another according to the Kings favour, yt he hath granted to the Engs Capt for to buy.

[1] Tattang or Tattung is probably the small island in Xăija Bay, to the west of the island of Sămai.

"This pappe^{r} comes Sonday Novemb^{r} ye 1th of the moone. The other Three Tarra^{s} to Chaia Tattung and Pompine were in the same tearms wth this directed to the pticular Governo^{r} of each place."

Fytche Nedham also carried another letter, written twelve days before the letter to the Directors, and addressed to the President at Surat, informing him of the intention of the factors to send, forthwith, to the Agent-General at Bantam, a statement of the condition of the factory at Ayuthia. They, however, experienced considerable difficulty in finding a suitable vessel to carry their messenger to Bantam, as the rates asked were unreasonable. They were, therefore, at last compelled to let the king of Siam understand that for want of a vessel they could not serve him as they desired, and upon hearing this, he supplied them with a junk of his own, on which Mr. Sanger set out on his mission probably in February or March, as he does not seem to have arrived at Bantam, until the beginning of April, 1676.

He carried the following letter to the Agent-General at Bantam, dated Siam, January 10, 1676. In it they first extol the king's kindness, and then proceed to say how willing he was "to court them to a right understanding," and then add "his deeds as well as words may wittness w^{t} the Barcalon gave us in promise the King since hath impowr^{d} us to possess *vizt* Chaia and Champone and as being willing to doe more then he would promise of his owne pleasure for to encourage a settlem^{t}, he added Tattung and Pompin places of no small importances there were not wanting who would have prevented what the king had done had their Intent prospered but his favour is such that it is not to bee bribed and his promise prince Like that wee shall but aske and have Such large encouragement made us for o^{r} Mr Service, think of a more fitt then a Dutch conveyance to send you o^{r} advices whereupon we sought for a vessell but could gett none unless at such rates as might be termed unreasonable

wee therefore gave his Matie to understand yt for want of a vessel wee could not serve him as wee desired by giveing the Honble Compa soe speedy an accot (as he might expect) of his respects and kindness upon this he ordered us a Jounke of his owne ye Honble Compay to be att no greater charge then to pay the English, and to find the Siamers wth fish and rice . . . . the whole command of sd vessell being left to or owne people as well as the kings merchandize wee thought fitt to accept the proffer and to dispatch her accordingly;" and as they thought "a p'sonall informacon" would be acceptable to the Bantam authorities, they sent Mr. Sanger to give them all particulars. They add, they had been left by Mr. Delboe, and could not have done otherwise than they had done, since his decease, "though it hath not be answerable to or desire." When they remembered the decay of the Japan trade, they could not but bless the Providence that had brought them to Siam, where they hoped, when but once settled, to see Siam surpassing the advantages of a Japan factory. The principal thing wanted in Siam was silver, which if the Company sent they would undoubtedly find by it a considerable benefit.

Mr. Sanger, on his arrival at Bantam, delivered this letter to the Agent and Council, and the translation of the *Tarras* which the factors had obtained from the *Phraklang*. The Council met on the 27th April, when they passed the following resolution [1] on the letter, and on the documents that accompanied it:—

"Mr. Hamon Gibbon &c. ffacts at Syam, haing advised us p. their letter bearing date ——, recd p. Mr. Benjamin Sangar who is lately arrived here that great advantages will accrue to our Honble Masters by ye continuance of a ffactory there, and ye great desire ye king of Syam hath yt our Honble Masters should trade in his countrey and yt for our encouragement he hath already granted two advantageous *Tarraes* or lres Patents for ye Tinn

[1] Bantam Consultations, 27th April, 1676, Java, vol. vi.

trade promising further advantages therein if desired wee ye Agent and Councell having seriously debated about ye promises, and considering ye withdrawing of a ffactory be it from ever soe meane a place, discredits our Honble Masters, and ecclipseth their trade in these parts, while our . . . . neighbrs ye Dutch, enemies in trade rejoyceth thereat and doe alwayes make use of our dishonr to there own advantage as alsoe considering yt ye trade at Syam may be as advantagious to our Honble Mastrs as it is to private tradrs from ye Coast of Surat who send yearly 4 or 5 ships there. Wee therefore think it convenient to continue yt factory till further ordrs from our Honble Mastrs and for as much as there is noe goodes at Bantam proppr for Syam, and yt ye Presidt and Councll of Suratt hath already recd a cargoe from Syam upon ship Returne amounting to upwards of $41,000, wee doe therefore resigne ye factory of Syam to be under the jurisdiction of Suratt, of which p. first opportunity we intend to advise ye Presidt and Councell there to whom we refer the Chief and ffactrs at Syam to make their Japan accotts.

"Whereas we heare Mr. Hamon Gibbon hath invitations from his friends to go for England wch if he doth imbrace wee advise him to go by way of Suratt.

"And whereas Mr. Ramsden hath sent his accots hither ye which upon perusall wee find to be soe imperfect as yt they are intelligible, wee doe therefore enordr ye aforesd Wm. Ramsden to Suratt to makē up his accotts there and in interim yt there remaine for ye keeping of yt factory Mr. Benja. Sangar, Mr. Charles Gould, Richd Jennings, and Sammll Potts, who will be chiefly employed in the disposing of what is remaining of ye cargo taken by them out of ye Returne, untill such times as they receive furthr ordrs from our Honble Mastrs or from ye Presidt and Councll at Suratt."

Eight days after this decision had been arrived at, they wrote as follows:—

"BANTAM, *May ye 5th* 1676.

"To the Honble &c. Councill, our very lo: friends.

"Mr. Benja Sangar being lately arrived from Syam, has brought us several *Tarraes* or letters patents from yt king, wch invests or Honble Masters with severall gainfull priviledges for buying of Tinn at ye best hand, upon ye consideration of wch we have thought it not best to desolve the ffactory, according to or first intentions—but to keep it on foot, expecting or Honble Mrs approbation thereof, but because ye comodities proper for sale at Syam are procureable at Surrat, and not from this place here, we conclude to resigne ye jurisdiction of that ffactory to ye Presidency of Surrat, purposing to acquaint our Honble Mrs therewith p. first oppertunity, yor selves haveing allready recd p. ship Returne from thence a cargoe amounting to upwards of 41,000 R. 8/8. . . .

"After ye death of Mr. Simon Delboe, Mr. Hamon Gibbon came successively to be chiefe of the Ffactory in Syam, assisted wth Mr. Wm. Ramsden second, Mr. Benja Sangar thrd, Richard Jennings and Samll Potts, writers but we are informd by or last year lrs out of England that Mr. Hamon Gibbons his ffriends have sent for him home, wch if he resolved to goe, we have permitted him to take his passage from Syam to Surrat but we have absolutely enorderd Mr. Wm. Ramsden to goe to Surrat, and to carry wth him his books and accts in yt ffactory to acct wth yor Honrs &c. there, those books wch he sent hither, by ye sd Mr. Ramsden not being to us intelligible, and then there will remaine in yt factory Mr. Benja Sangar, and Mr. Charles Gold, whom we have lately entertained wth a Japponees servant."

From a consultation, held on the 1st June, 1676, it appears that letters had been recently received from the Court of Directors, by the ship *Formosa*, appointing Mr. Benjamin Sanger chief at Tonquin. The Council, however, considered that this could not be done without prejudice

to the Company's affairs at Siam, and they consequently resolved to send Sanger as chief factor to Ayuthia, and to recall Mr. Gibbon to Bantam.

The next meeting, at which the Council discussed the affairs at Siam, was not held until the 20th July, 1676. On that occasion they resolved to call on Mr. Sanger to submit to them "a calculation of the benefit that might accrue to the Company by virtue of the king's *Tarra* and Tin trade." They also very properly determined to take steps to wipe out the debt due to the king, which, free of interest, amounted to $\$$10,000. The following is the course they intended to adopt, recorded in their own words:—

"Wee have taken it into ou^r serious considerations and think it just and Honble fo^r y^e disengaging of y^t debt to make up a cargoe of goodes out of ou^r Cloath Godowne to y^e amo^t of 5, or 6000 $\$$ of $\frac{8}{8}$ & $\$$ of $\frac{8}{8}$ in Specie 5000: all which we hope will be a meanes to attract future fav^{rs} from y^e king of Syam, alsoe fo^r y^e putting of good quantities of woollen manufactories, and fo^r y^e better settling ou^r selves in his Esteem we think convenient y^t out of y^e cargoe now sent wth Mr. Sangar upon y^e Junck and Gorup there be a Pres^t taken out fo^r ye King Upra Simeratt[1] and Barcalong, wch we leave to ye discretion of ou^r chief & fact^{rs} there, & whereas Mr. Hamon Gibbon & Mr. Wm. Ramsden are to come away, we have agreed y^t Mr. Charles Gould who is to serve ye Comp^a at Syam be entertained in ye quality of a ffactor at £20 *p.* Ann., advising him to write to his friends in England to give a Security to ye Honble Comp^a for his fidelity and we doe alsoe promise to make in his behalf in our next Genn^{ll} lre to ou^r Honb^{le} Employ^{rs} and being informed *p* Mr. Sangar of ye great want of some one to serve fo^r ye cleaning of ye house at Syam and oth^r servile businesses, ye Siamm^{rs} being avers to such work, we have concluded to buy two slaves for y^t purpose, if to be procured."

[1] This in modern Siamese is *Phra* and *Séna màt*, meaning mandarins or courtiers. Pallegoix, Dict., pp. 578 and 731.

In view of his approaching departure, Sanger had drawn up a short memorandum on the management of the factory, and had indicating to the Council certain details regarding which he desired the definite instructions of the Council. This document was as follows:—

"Memorand. concerning Syam ffactory.

"If possible to clear ye King's debt, and to satisfie him by lettr yt I have given yor Worps an acctt of his Respects to ye Honble Compa To remembre him wth a present—as likewise ye Barcalon and Upra Sinourat; who have been ready to assist us upon all occasion, pticularly in ye procuring ye Tarras for ye Tin trade.

"If we shall desire anything more of him then wt he hath allready granted, wh wee shall doe as to Chaia &ce., whithr wee shall freight or buy a vessell to send thithr to take an acctt of affairs there. If the Japanse I advised yor Worp. of should be taken into ye Compas service. (*In red ink the following occurs:*) Mr. . . . . and Mr. Joyce desire to be remembrd as to wages.

"What we shall doe with such Engshmen as run away from ye ships they come upon, and live so debauched yt they are a shame to their country.

"A slave or two for ye keeping ye house clean, wch ye Siamrs will not doe.

"If possible some bales of white long cloth, course chints, or such coast goods as may sell for money to defray house expenses, there being little hopes of selling Engsh manufactures but in trade

"Whether we may trust any other merchts then ye king.

"In case we send to Chaia, we shall want money to buy or freight a vessell." [1]

It was considered proper that the junk, selected to carry Messrs. Sanger and Gould, should have a name, and hence it was known as the *William.* The *Gorup*, accompanying

[1] Ind. Off. Rec. O. C., 4076.

it, was of about 60 tons burthen, and was navigated by Richard Joyce, a midshipman who had recently arrived at Bantam in the *Formosa*, and whose salary, while so engaged, was to be eight rupees a month, with an additional five rupees for his food, the latter allowance to cease on his arrival at Ayuthia. A lascar was placed in charge of the native crew of the *Gorup*, and his remuneration was five rupees a month with his rice, but the factors were told that, if they could find cheaper labour, they were not bound to keep him.

Every precaution having thus been taken by the Bantam authorities for the success of the mission, the *William* and the *Gorup* set sail for the Menam, probably in the last days of July, 1676, carrying a letter from the agent to his "very loving friends Mr. Hammon Gibbon &c.," dated 22nd July 1676, and another to the king of Siam.

From the former letter it appears that the factory at Ayuthia, which, however, is always spoken of in the correspondence in the India Office as the Siam factory, "stood indebted to ye king of Siam for tinne laden in ye Returne, about 300 or 400 catt^{s}." The authorities at Bantam expected that the Company would reap considerable benefit in consequence of the *Tarra* or "patent of indulgence" which the king had granted to them for the tin trade at Xăija, Xŭmphon, Tattang, and Phŭn-phin to the exclusion of all other traders, and the factors were instructed to report to the Company whether their expectations were well founded.

They sanctioned the employment of the Japanese mentioned in the memorandum concerning the Siam Factory, in the following terms:—"Wee understand there is a Japon^{r} resid^{t} in ye Citty of Siam named John Gruby who by reason of ye Report of his ability truth fidelity and willingness to serve ye Comp^{a} wee think it very convenien^{t} y^{t} hee should bee employed in ye Comp^{a} Service—wch wee leave unto y^{o} to entertaine him at as reasonable termes as yo can."

The factors were again informed that the authorities at Bantam had recommended that the Siam factory should be put under Surat, "by Reason of ye recipcallnesse of ye Marchandize to and from y^t place."

A few other extracts from this letter seem of sufficient interest to warrant their introduction here. Thus—"Amongst ye Court goods in ye Invoyce herewith sent yo will find one bale of Comitters sent yo for a triall finding them here to bee a looseing Com. by Reason of ye various new fasshions in these parts."

"Wee rec^d yor sev^{ll} moulds wch ye King of Siam desires to bee made in christiall glass wch Agent Dacres being bound home *p.* next shipping will take ye care to have y^m provided, as also ye European velvets ye King orders to have bought amongst sev^{ll} of ye things mentioned in ye Inv^o are some intended for y^o to make presents to ye King, to Europe Surrat, and to ye Barcalon. Wee understand that aboute 8 or 10 years since ye King of Sucradana sending some counterfitt moulds of Great diamons unto ye King of Siam was thereby enticed to send a prow unto ye King Sucradana, for procureing ye Diamonds demonstrated by ye s^d counterfitt mould, as soon as ye vessell arr^d there ye Sucardanians dispoled them of ye cargo killed ye Noquoda and to this day keepeth his men as slaves ye son of ye said Noquoda named Lelup hath fallen into some of o^r hands wch wee have now sent upon ye Jounk y^t hee may be restored to ye king, wch wee are told by ye Siam Manderine will be acceptable unto him, and there is a vessell more of Sucradana y^t is returning about amo^t hence by whome wee will use o^r endeav^r to procure more of ye King of Siams men y^t were surprized at Succradana aforesaid.

"Wee must acknowledge o^r selves beholding to ye King of Siam for sending us y^t Junck and 30 Siam Sylers to come hither or else wee had great perplexity how to have hard from y^o untill ye next monzoone and it happened

well yt hee did not supply us wth money to lade rice upon her for that hath turned to loss."

In a postscript it is added that the New Agent who had arrived at Bantam since the letter was written would contribute "what in him lyes ye promoting and settlement of a factory in Siam whose Kings hath soe much obliged yo and seems soe solicitors of a commerce wth ye Honnoble Compa but before wee proceed to faire tis absolutely necessary yt wee have ye Compa directions therein."

The letter to the king was as follows:—

"To ye Illustrious Magnanimous Potent High & Mighty King of Siam.

"Yor most excelent Matie,

"Haveing pleased to give ye Compa servants soe favourable a reseption assisting them wth such convenience, as they found nessesary to Implore from you is a thing yt must not only by us resident here at Bantam but our Masters ye Honnoble English East India Compa, bee greatefull accepted and as oppertunity presents, bee in *p*: requisted wch obligeth us from time to time to procure such Marchandize convenient as yo shall bee pleased at all times in ye way of Marchandize to Intermate to us by Mr. Benj. Sanger—Yor Master was pleased to send some moulds of fancis to be made in Christall, wch shall By ye first oppertunity be sent for England to be affected accordingly as also those velvets Groons red &ca Coullers the Greatest encoriragemt to induce ye Compa to continue a factory in yor Maties Kingdome will bee ye hopes of vending of large quantities of broad cloth, &ca English manufactores, and wee make it our request that yt yo send us yearely a List of what sortes yoe Matie desires to have yt wee may provide them accordingly.

"Wee had Good hopes yt before this or shipps from England would have arrived here, yt wee might have had by them some carrities fitting to present yoe Majties but

fearing wee should endanger ye loss of ye monzoone we have ben forced to send away this Junk before our Europe shipps are come, bee pleased therefore in ye meane time to accept of these small thing now sent *p* Mr. Sangar, wee have here met wth one Lelup who is ye sonn of one of yor Maties Noq^{o} formerly sent to Succradana and there destained wch wee have now returned unto yo^{e}, hopeing it may be accepta^{ble} to yor Matie wee hope by ye next yeare to gitt som more of them men, wch wee shall accordingly present unto yor Matie.

"Wee humbly beg ye continuiance of yor Maties favour to o^{r} people in yor territories, and are obliged to pray for yor Maties long life health and prosperity and shall ever remaine yor Maties

"most humble and faithfull servan^{t}

"HENRY DACRES.

"BANTAM, *22nd July* 1676."

Benjamin Sanger and Charles Gould having set sail in the *William*, the Agent and Council wrote, on July 30, 1676, to the Honble &c. Council at Surat, pointing out the advantages which Siam offered for the sale of woollen goods and for the purchase of tin. They informed the Council that they had been assured by Mr. Sanger, "y^{t} ye King and Kingdome of Siam will take as great quantities of broad cloath and other woollen manufactories of ou^{r} Nations (and y^{t} he hath it ye season of ye yeare), a constant and amicable tread to Japon, wch is more y^{t} ye Holland^{rs} can pretend." On account of the restrictions laid by the Japanese on the Dutch trade, the Bantam authorities believed that they would shortly declare war with Japan, and they considered that if this happened there could be no greater "invitation to ye Comp^{a} to settle a ffactory in Syam y^{n} ye consumption of ou^{r} woollen manufactories wch for ought wee know in time may arise to bee very greate for what Syam and ye kingdome will not vend

y^{t} King with greate advantage by his owne shipps may send to Japon."

They also stated to the Council that in the account of the trade of Siam submitted to them by Mr. Sanger, he had informed them that tin occurred in "vast quantity" (in Siam), and of finer quality than the Tin of England, and that the king's price was "$ $\frac{8}{8}$ 50 *p* Bah^{r} of 3 Pec^{ll} in bart^{r} of goods wch is possible wth ready money may bee pchased at or about 45 $ *p* Bah^{r} and it is soe much y^{e} better if it can bee soe reduced wth goods in bart^{r}."

Mr. Sanger and his companions arrived safely at Ayuthia, but the hope the factors there had held out to the Council at Bantam, that since they "could not carry Syam to Japan, they might have Japan brought to Syam," was doomed not to be realised; and a minute drawn up at Bantam on the 6th July, 1677,[1] records that they were then despairing that the Ayuthia factory would bring them the trade of "the land of the rising sun." They, however, did everything in their power to advance the factory, and accordingly sent the ship *Unity*[2] to Bangkok on the 18th July, 1677. Captain Croft, the commander of the ship, on reaching his destination, found all the Company's servants in health, and, taking on board a cargo of copper, and *Tutenage*,[3] sailed for Fort St. George.

As the factory was now under Surat, vessels from that port began to visit the Menam more frequently than hitherto, two ships at least having arrived there in 1677, *viz.*, the *Welcome*, and the *Fortune*. On the latter vessel was Ralph Lambton, brother of Richard Lambton, one of the Company's Servants at Surat, where their brother John had died. Notwithstanding the arrival of goods from India,

[1] Bantam, General Letter, July 6, 1677.

[2] The *Unity* was the vessel in which that able traveller, Dr. John Fryer, went to India in 1672. In Orme's Hist. Fragments, p. 213, the captain is called Craft, not Croft.

[3] *Tutenage*, or *Tutenague* (according to Reid's edition of M'Culloch's Comm. Dict., 1869, p. 1490) is the commercial name given to the zinc or spelter of China, but improperly applied, as the article *tutenag* to which the Portuguese gave the name, was the gong metal of the Chinese, an alloy of copper and tin.

and the visit of the *Unity*, the factors were complaining at this time that they were stinted in their supplies from Bantam. They were also troubled by a quarrel that had arisen between Ralph Lambton[1] and a Mr. John Tyler regarding certain gambling debts and other claims which they made mutually on each other, and which the factors could not clear up, and which evoked from them the remark, "in these parts we have all judges, but no justice."

A misunderstanding had also arisen between the authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuthia regarding some tin that had been lost at Junk-Ceylon, so that their troubles were increasing.

The Surat merchants at Ayuthia seem to have given the factors a very favourable account of the state of the Company's affairs in the Western Presidency of India, as on the strength of their reports the factors had written to the President and Council, on the 3rd December, 1677, congratulating them on their success in trade; but their letter in reply tells a very different tale. This was the substance of their answer:—

'We received yours of the 3 December from Syam, wherein you seemed to be advised of an increase of trade with us, & a high flourishing of the Honble Compa affairs in these parts, which we cannot but a little admire at, there being so little cause for either, noe time since our nations first settlement here having been more drye and less productive, for not only in Surat but in all other subordinate factories, soe few of our Europe goods vend, & at such meane prices (through the general warrs have longe continued in theire severall places where our factorys are settled) that wee are put to great difficulties to get them off of our hands, and more to procure such commodities each place formerly afforded for our Europe investments, so that the Honble Compa have great reason to order the reducing their affairs to less expense and narrower com-

1 He had returned to Surat from Siam, March 25, 1678. Letter from Surat to Siam, April 16, 1678.

pass, and therefore cannot but comend your prudence in not leaving your present residence, especially we having rec^{d} noe orders from the Honble Comp^{a} to lycense your repair hither & where we have already more of their servants than we are well able to dispose off.'

Towards the end of the first half of the year, 1678, the king informed the factors that it was his intention to bestow on them the same privileges as were accorded to the factors at Fort St. George, and to give them the monopoly of the pepper trade of Patani. They willingly accepted those fresh concessions, and at once resolved to send Samuel Potts in a *mervah,* doubtless specially named for the occasion the *Patani Merchant,* and commanded by Captain Barkin, to take possession of Patani and to reside there, until further orders. The vessel was laden with rice, to be invested in pepper for Ayuthia.

Some time elapsed, however, before the arrangements for this new extension of trade were completed, and in the meanwhile Benjamin Sanger died on the 3rd September.[1]

Potts and Richard Jennings, on board the *Patani Merchant,* first went to Ligor,[2] where they arrived, on the 22nd August, and going ashore, delivered the Phra-klang's letter to the Governor, who informed them that it was the Phra-klang's pleasure that they should sell their cargo of rice to him. As they could not agree about the price, the letter goes on to say, they sailed to Patani and delivered to the Governor the Phra-klang's letter, who kindly received them, but in consequence of war could give them no encouragement to settle there, but promised, that as soon as all troubles were over, he would assist them according to the Phra-klang's letter. A plan of Patani was sent to Mr. Gibbon. The yearly growth of pepper at Patani amounted to 1500 or 2000 pecul, besides great

[1] In a letter from George White to William Ayloffe, merchant at Masulipatam, it is said that Sanger died in August.

[2] Letter dated ye 18th September, 1678. Ind. Off. Rec. D. D. 10, where other letters from Potts are to be found.

quantities brought from other places, which might be purchased, in barter, at ₱12 p. Bahar. They made the Governor a small present, which he gladly accepted, but, being disappointed of their hopes, they sailed to Singora. The king of that place desired them to settle in his town, promising them his protection, and to accommodate them with a house at his own charge wherever they should think most convenient, and also to make Singora a free port, so that in a short time, all foreign commodities, they believed, would be had there at as reasonable rates as at Patani, great duties being imposed on all goods brought to the latter port. The *Patani Merchant* took in a cargo of rattans for Siam, and then sailed for Ayuthia.

Captain Croft, on his return to Bantam, gave the Agent and Council a most dispiriting account of the manner in which the Company's affairs at Ayuthia were being managed by the factors, and on 24th July, 1678, the Council recorded the following minute: "hearing of sev^{ll} great enormities acted in that place wch are not commendable nor safe in ye Honble Companys affaires, as at large declared to us by Captn Cruffe, and more pticulerly did appear by a copy of a lre to ye Honb^{le} Comp^{a} and a protest from Mr Potts we propose sending a proper person to inspect these affaires and to give us an accomp^{t} thereof whose power shall be equivolent to ye urgency of ye occasion we esteem it to be absolutely necessary and soe have pitched upon Mr. Richd Burneby to proceed upon ye Tywan in ord^{r} thereunto understanding ye injury Mr. Pots sustaines by not being imployed in any quality in ye Comp^{as} Service although a man capable and deserving have thought inconvenient to ord^{r} and appoint him to be one of the Council and least there should be a want of persons to manage ye Comp^{as} affaires, have agreed to send to writers to their assistance.

"And whereas Mr. Thos Copping minest, hath requested to go for Syam we have considered and ye rather by reason of the differences among them being a person by whose

prudent and wholesome advice those difference might be palleated."

From a letter written later on,[1] some information is gleaned regarding the conduct of the factors at Ayuthia. Messrs. Gibbon and Sanger were charged with the very irregular action of "taking up money in ye Compas name and lending it for their own accot," and it adds, "The king deteynes ye Compas effects for sattisfaction, By their scandelous living, that ffactory is fallen in great decay. Wch has occasioned their backwardness in sending their accots and their extravagt rating ye Coppr for wch cause they have sent Mr. Burnaby to inspect and take an acct."

The king they described as one of the most generous princes in all Asia, and encourager of trade, and that his capital consumed more English manufactures than any other.

The ship being now ready for sea, the Agent and Council thought fit to present Mr. Burneby with a chest of wine for the entertainment of visitors, but many a headache probably followed the factor's hospitality, as we find the Council had written to the Court that the wine they had received from their Honble Masters had been found to be very bad, and in consequence they appealed to them to be more liberal in the quality rather than in the quantity of the wine they sent to them. However, it is but just to add that the liquors supplied to the Council were not always to be condemned, as in the following year, before the Court could have acted on their touching appeal, their servants at Bantam wrote to them, saying, "The Wine, Beere, Mumm,[2] Butter and Cheese sent proves very good."

The *Tywan* set sail from Bantam for the Menam on the 14th August, 1678.

[1] General letter from Bantam to the Court, dated 27th August and 5th September, 1678.

[2] *See* Appendix D.

CHAPTER IV.

THE 'TYWAN' AT BANGKOK.

THE *Tywan*, under the command of Captain Cubitt, with Mr. Burneby, the Rev. Mr. Copping,[1] Mr. John Turner, and Mr. Thomas Hellowes, arrived at Bangkok on the 12th September, 1678.

George White, who was in the capital at the time, wrote[2] to his correspondent, Mr. Ayloffe at Masulipatam, announcing the arrival of the frigate. He speaks of Mr. Burneby as a "very worthy gentleman, whose favour he had the happiness to enjoy," and who had been received "with abundance of satisfaction and content." The inspector had, therefore, made a very favourable impression on landing.

His first act on doing so was to demand the keys of the Company's *Godown*,[3] and to make an inventory of the goods

[1] In the Court Minutes for 29th December, 1675, the election of Mr. Thomas Copping, curate of Wansted, to be chaplain at Bantam is recorded, his salary to be £50 per annum, and £20 were to be allowed him to provide provisions for the voyage. After he had been elected an inquiry into his character was instituted by the Court, but the charges that had been brought against him were disproved, and he proceeded to Bantam. The material as well as the spiritual things of this life occupied his attention when abroad, as in the Court Book for 23rd February, 1682, the following entry occurs :—"On reading ye petition of Mr. *John* Copping, late Minister at Bantam" (it is extremely unlikely that there were two chaplains of the name of Copping at Bantam), "it is ordered yt it be referred to ye Comtees for private trade to exãien what Indulgence was granted to Mr. Wynn and Mr. Portman ye Compas Chaplains upon their return for England, and to afford the like privelege to Mr. Copping with respect to the musk and other goods by him brought home on ye Sipio."

[2] It is difficult to read some parts of this letter, as it has been pasted over with tissue paper on one side to preserve it.

[3] A storehouse.

found on the premises. He reported to the Agent at Bantam[1] that the contents were considerable, but that the Honourable Company's estate and affairs were in a most lamentable condition, and that there were no books and no method.[2] Ralph Lambton, however, afterwards claimed a large part of the goods in the *Godown*, asserting that they were goods belonging to him, which, with the permission of Benjamin Sanger, he had placed there for safety and for sale after his departure. Joseph Bashpoole, an Englishman, then in Ayuthia, gave Burneby a different version of how Lambton's goods happened to be in the *Godown*. His story was that on Ralph Lambton's arrival in Siam, in the *Fortune*, he found the ship *Welcome* there before him, with a large cargo of the same kind of goods as he had brought, and thinking that he would have a better market for the goods after the Surat ship was gone, he placed them under Sanger's care to be sold when the market improved. Lambton, not having sold his goods, had no money to buy a cargo wherewith to load his ship, and he accordingly applied to Sanger to assist him, who procured for him fifty bahar of tin from the king, while by the sale of the Company's cloth Sanger also obtained for Lambton, who was trading under a license from the Company,[3] a considerable quantity of copper and tutenage.

Richard Lambton had been sent to Ayuthia with a cargo, in the beginning of 1678, carrying a letter from his brother Ralph, asking Sanger to assist him. He accordingly had also been allowed to place his goods in the Company's *Godown*. The result was, Ralph alleged, that Burneby had seized property of the Lambtons amounting to £7000.[4] Another claimant likewise appeared in the person of Captain Barkin, who had navigated the *Patani Merchant*, as he

[1] Letter dated 28th October, 1678.

[2] Letter from Fort St. George to Mr. Rule at Surat, dated 4th January, 1679.

[3] Consultation Book of Fort St. George. Letters from Siam, received 3rd March, 1680, and dated 24th December, 1679 and 20th October 1679.

[4] Surat Record; Consultation Book, 6th January to 29th December, 1679.

asserted that when he agreed to navigate the vessel to Patani for the Company, he had placed 1100 ticals of ready cash in Mr. Sanger's custody.

Burneby, however, on the advice of Gibbon, declined to listen to these claims, until he had received the orders of the Company, as Sanger had only kept loose papers, by which means Gibbon had been kept in ignorance of what had been going on. Gibbon, moreover, asserted that Ramsden, who had been deputed to Jambi,[1] had deserted his post at that place, and had clandestinely returned in the *Bantam Cutchell* to Ayuthia, and on his arrival had assumed the office of second factor, and seized some of Sanger's papers. These facts illustrate how utterly disorganised the factory was on Burneby's arrival, and how arduous a task he had to fulfil. His difficulties, besides, were still further increased at this time by the death of John Kent, probably one of the writers who accompanied him as an assistant from Bantam. Richard Burneby himself, however, was also soon destined to succumb to the influences that then reigned supreme at the capital.

In the General Transactions at Siam, preserved in the India Office,[2] there is an account of Burneby's reception by the Phra-klang on the 30th September 1678. It is as follows: "Mr Burneby having Audience given him by the Barcalong of Syam, delivered his Highness Agent Parkers lrs for yt King and to himselfe, and by an address in writing returns thanks for his Favours in ye loanes they had supplyed ye Company withall, wch he is ready to pay when any one shall be appointed to adjust accots and hopes his Highness wold assist in recovering ye Compas Debts if if there shall be occasion," then follows a sentence which

1 That Ramsden had clandestinely left Jambi was attested to by Henry Burton at Ayuthia; and when he was afterwards taxed at Bantam with having done so, and with having committed several irregularities, the shame of his deeds led him to commit suicide, as it is recorded that "he shot himself with a pistol." General Letter from Bantam, 28th July, 1679.

2 Java, vol. vii.

was the beginning of many troubles in Siam. It was this, that the Company desired that all those who had deserted their employment, and were in the king's service as gunners, might be discharged, and that if his Majesty had occasion for gunners or artists, and would acquaint the Agent, they would be supplied. The gifts Burneby brought were accepted, and, on the 30th October, the presents from the king and Phra-klang in return for those given to them were received, and consisted of tin, Japan scriptores, &c., the Phra-klang's present to the Company being a Japan gown. In Burneby's letter it is stated that the *Tywan* was to be dispatched with copper, tin, tutenage, and sappan-wood, and that he hoped to give the Bantam authorities an account "of the coynes curr^{t} in y^{t} country." Gold at the time was very scarce, as the Dutch had bought up great quantities. The king was delighted with the curiosities presented to him, and Burneby promised to send to Bantam a list of what further curiosities his Majesty desired, and also the titles of the King and Phra-klang, and an account of the Dutch trade with Siam. He was of opinion that Ayuthia would shortly be a place of great importance to the Company, and would take large quantities of Europe, Coast, and Surat goods.

He then describes how "he must go to Levo, where ye Accomp^{t} wth ye King will be made up, and all other desires in his Paper to ye Barcalong will be granted to his owne expectation." Sanger, he states, had received from the king 150 Bahar of tin and nearly 200 cattees of silver, and that the king lent him a sloop of his own, which "in her voyage to Mocha spent her masts, lost all her Cables and Anchors, and ye greatest part of her Cargo Damaged." He consequently feared that the Company would be great sufferers by this, the money having been taken on credit.

He proceeds to inform them that the king had offered "Patany to ye Company, a Place for wch ye Dutch made large proffers to injoy, but ye king would by no means

grant it unto them, because he observes it to be the custom "y[t] where they gett footing, they endeavor to make a Conquest; but to y[e] Company Hee will freely give it, wth y[e] same privileges as they have at Fort St. George. The Island is 12 miles long and 8 broad, and can maintaine it selfe, and wth some Charge can be made very strong, it being already waled and moted about, but by reason of y[e] late warrs some p[t] is gone to decay. It produces great quantities of Gold and Pepper, y[t] is esteemed y[e] best in India. Formerly it was y[e] only place of Trade, and might soon be made so againe were it under y[e] English, w[ch] is a thing much desired by y[e] king and Barcalong &[c] Grandees." He then relates how Mr. Potts,[1] his subordinate, had been sent to take possession of Patani, "but finding it not reduced to its obedience, He went to Sengoore, the King of w[ch] place showed him abundance of respect, and proffered great advantage if wee will but settle there, in which place may be procured 3000 pecull of Pepper yearly ready mill'd for 120 13 R[a]. p. Bahar." He also informed them that he intended to send a junk from Siam with rice, oil, and salt to Jambi, and thence to Bantam with 500 pecul of pepper.

George White was recommended to the Company's service, "and a Person of his Experience and Knowledge being very needful," Mr. Burneby employed him as second till further orders.[2] He advised that a new factory should be built which, he says, "ye King expects, having long

[1] The Court Book for 24th May, 1671 contains the following minute:—"The peticõn of Sam. Pots recõmended to ye Comp[a] by the right honb[le] the Lord Berkeley, was now read, praying employm[t] in their service; Whereupon it was ordered that it be taken into consideracõn as any opportunity offers." Sam. Potts' sureties were "Sampson Potts of Litchfield gent, and John Potts of Westm[r] gent." Court Book, 23rd June, 1671.

[2] In the Court Minutes of 22nd February, 1681, the following entry occurs:—"It is ordered that a parcell of musk brought home for acco[t] of Mr. George White, Factor at Syam, be detained in ye Warehouse untill his accompt with the Comp[a] be advisced." And again, on the 1st March 1681, the following minute is recorded:—"It is ordered y[t] it be referred to Mr. Morden and Mr. Sedgwick to exãine the charge ye Company has against Mr. Burnaby and Mr. George White factors, at Syam, and to report ye true state

since appointed them ground," and has promised them timber, brick, and mortar. The house they then had was very much decayed. He also requested the Agent to "confirm Jn° Bennett, an able Physitian and Chyrurgion," he had entertained at £3 5s. p month, "there being great occasion for him." He also asked the Agent "to send (for security of ye Compas concernes) 6 or 8 Souldiers and Armes, etc. The factory having been broken up three times" since his arrival there. He was very desirous that the "king might be accomodated with the Toyes writ for." The Dutch being highly commended there, for their readiness in obliging ye king, whilst our former factors are much complain'd agt but ye things he brought wth him, and ye promises made of more exact observance for ye future has in good part regained our Esteeme, therefore to supply him wth what he now desires would much engage him," and Mr. Burneby hoped "ye amount of ye Cost will be invested as much to ye Compas benefit, as in any other Comodity they could send. The king hath severall times offer'd 5 or 600 Bahar of Tin' for ye Compas accot wch he desires ye Agent &c. directions in."

Burneby in writing to Robert Parker, the Agent at Bantam, forwarded an interesting report on the trade of Ayuthia, the author of which was probably George White.[1] On the same day as the foregoing letter he also addressed the Directors in London, impressing on them the importance of the trade of Patani, and pointing out the advantages of the trade with Singora, while at the same time he announced that peace had been concluded between Camboja and Cochin-China, and that the trade of the former country would be of great use to the Company.

By the 28th November, the *Tywan*, carrying the foregoing correspondence, had been dispatched to Fort St. George

thereof unto ye Court." He was appointed by the Bantam Council to the Company's service at Ayuthia as a temporary arrangement, on the 26th March, 1679, (Letter from Bantam to R. Burneby) and on the 30th October, 1680, he wrote to R. Burneby declaring himself free from their service.

[1] See Appendix E.

with a cargo of "Copper, Tynne, Tutanague, Sapanwood, and Tea,"[1] but the tea was ultimately returned to Bantam, as no one had offered anything for it at Madras. From the letter which supplies these particulars it appears that a part of the cargo had been obtained by barter, and the remainder for ready money, and that the President and Council at Fort St. George were dissatisfied with the way in which Burneby had invoiced the goods. They say he had "invoiced the copper at three several prices, *viz.*, at 12, 10, and at 8 tayle p. chest," which they believed represented "the rates he had received in barter for other goods and bought for ready money." It was therefore difficult, they said, "to know the losse or gains upon it here;" therefore they presumed it would be "a more plaine way to charge it all at ye ready money price, for otherwise the gaines is made upon ye copper in the goods in which it is bartered, and soe in other goods received in Barter." Moreover, on the arrival of the ship, they failed to sell the tin and tutenage, as they had only received offers for less than what they had cost.

On the 28th November, 1678, the factors at Ayuthia informed the authorities at Bantam that it was "An Indispensable necessit^ie^" that a factory should be built at a cost of about 3000 dollars, and that it should have a guard of 6 to 8 soldiers, and they embraced the opportunity to commend their steward, Thomas Hellowes, for his excellent management of their household arrangements. The king, they said, would contribute to build the factory, and, in view of this and other favours they might have to ask, they recommended the Bantam authorities not to grudge purchasing and sending to Ayuthia the objects the king had expressed a desire to have, as "the cost will be well employed." They were also requested to send an annual present to the king, as he would always make an equivalent return, and among the objects sug-

[1] Letter from Fort St. George to The Honble Thos Rolt and to the Council at Surat, dated 6th January, 1678/9.

gested for his Majesty's use, "A Christall Branch," doubtless a chandelier, a favourite ornament for the halls of Eastern princes even now, and "amorous representac̃ons in wax-worke," which would be highly esteemed.

From another passage occurring in this letter it appears that Mr. Parker, the Agent at Bantam, had been guilty of a breach of court etiquette in addressing the king direct by letter, as he was told "not to write any more Lres directlie to ye King, but to Barcalong."

The Agent and Council at Bantam were also requested to instruct the captains of ships going to Siam that they should take their vessels up the river as far as the city, in order to save boat-hire, and that the tide, in the latter end of July, would carry them up all the way. And they were also informed that the ships would save ground-tackle by riding on rattan hawsers.

The English name in those days was not unfrequently dishonoured at Ayuthia, and an anecdote recited in this letter portrays the desperate character of some of the ruffians then frequenting the capital of Siam, and the tale of piracy recorded on the following page of this narrative illustrates the lawlessness of the time.

George Lawrence, an Englishman, was accused of murdering three persons, and acknowledged having killed two. He, however, escaped "by breaking the prison;" and as the people of Siam, we are told, "esteem it meritorious to succor a malefactor," he was for a time allowed his liberty, during which he insinuated himself into the Phraklang's favour, to secure himself against justice, and was entertained as an engineer. He was, however, afterwards surrendered and sent to Bantam, where he again escaped.

In the beginning of 1679, the President and Council at Bantam were beginning to complain that Mr. Burneby was "very short in his advices," an observation which, read in the light of the after history of the man, is of considerable import.

On the 29th March, 1679, the *Tywan* was dispatched

from Fort St. George with a cargo of calicoes for Ayuthia, and arrived in the Menam probably towards the end of June. The letter[1] in which Burneby was informed of this reached him overland from Tenasserim, being delivered to him by Captain Wilcken Wigbers, a Dane. This man had gone from Fort St. George to Tenasserim, in search of his sloop, which had been stolen from him at Pulicat, on a dark night when he was ashore, the thieves being his pilot and mate, both Dutchmen, and a crew of seven white men and some blacks. The sloop was laden with rich goods, jewels, and plate of considerable value, but on its arrival at Tenasserim the vessel was seized by the Siamese Governor, and the runaways and their ill-gotten riches were sent up to Ayuthia on suspicion; and in a letter to Madame Mainwaring, at Madapollam, it is said that it was credibly reported the men had been sent in irons.

The President and Council at Fort St. George took up the captain's case warmly, as he had two years before placed a sum of money with the Company, and had taken bills of exchange for it, intending to have gone home in one of their ships, or to have lived under the Honourable Company's Government at Madras, as he had all along done. They therefore requested Mr. Burneby to assist him, and the President of Fort St. George, Streynsham Master,[2] wrote a letter to the king of Siam, and another to the "Barcalam," asking a similar favour.

Here is the former :—[3]

"To ye King of Syam in ye Persian Language.

"May it please your Majesty,

"Besides the fame of the Justice and favour of your Glorious Court to all Strangers the experience of our

1 Fort St. George to Mr. Richard Burneby, Chiefe etc^a^ Councell in Syam, dated 8th May 1679.

2 Fort St. George Records, JJ. b. 1. Vol. ii. pp. 57, 58. Colonel Yule has given an interesting sketch of the Indian career of Sir Streynsham Master, Knt., and a likeness of him: *see* Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. pp. ccxxii–cclv.

3 In Book J. J. b. 1, 11, p. 57. Ind. Of. Records, and at p. 58 is the letter to the Phra-klang.

Nation more particularly therein, hath emboldened me to recommend to your Majesty the business of Cap[t] Wilcken Wigbers, your assistance and kindness in such cases being soe agreeable with your Royall bounty, that I firmely beleeve he will obtaine it in the recovery of his owne soe unjustly and felloneously carryed from him, as I have in short given his Excellency the Uprah Colong to understand, and yo[r] Majesty will more largely know from himselfe, soe shall not trouble your Majesty any farther then the addition of my prayers for your long life and happiness I remaine

Your Majestys
Most humble devoted servant,
STREYNSHAM MASTER.

"FORT ST. GEORGE, *y[e] 8th May*, 1679."

Towards the end of the year 1678, Burneby had sent George Chown to Bantam[1] with letters and papers bearing on the unsettled condition of the factory, but his news were not wholly of a desponding character, as he was able to announce that the king of Siam had offered an island to the English, and also a fortification. The latter was possibly Patani, although it was not mentioned by name. The king had been probably led to make this liberal concession out of purely interested motives, his object being to counteract the influence of the Dutch by playing the one nation off against the other, as in the next breath in which the Bantam Council record this concession they unwittingly explain its cause in this sigh, "These parts are weary of the Hollander's tyranny."[2]

The Lambtons, whose goods had been seized by Burneby for the Company, were determined to make every effort in their power for their recovery, and accordingly, on the 24th March, 1679, Ralph Lambton[3] presented a petition to the Council at Surat, stating "that Mr. Richard Burneby,

[1] Bantam Consultations, 6th December, 1678. General Letter to Court of Directors, 27th May, 1679.

[2] Bantam General, 27th May, 1679.

[3] Surat Consultation Book, 24th March, 1679.

the chief of the Company's affairs in Siam, had seized his estate on pretence of some of his (Ralph Lambton's) accounts being unsettled with him (Burneby), and he therefore prayed the Company's permission to voyage to Siam on some Surat junk." This was granted, but as a ship called the *Surat Merchant* was leaving Surat for Siam about that time, he went as a passenger on it, and arrived at Ayuthia on the 27th July, 1679. Burneby records this event, which made a stir in the capital, in the following words:— "Presently after his coming I had notice given me of his public raylinges against me amongst the Moores and country people, with threatening to submit complaints to the Barcalong of injuries he had received by unjust seizure of his goods the former year; upon intimation of which his endeavours wrongfully to slander and abuse me," he adds, "I sent him the following friendly admonition." The letter here referred to is dated 6th August, 1679, and Burneby called on Lambton "to deliver to him in writing whatever he had to object against him, and to desist from his infamous slanders," and enjoined him, in the name of the Honourable Company, to cease from any further addresses to the Phra-klang, and from his threat to address the king. He charged him with damaging the credit of the Company, and of having "misappropriated the goods to accommodate his own private occasions." He doubted not but that the laws of his sovereign lord the king would justify him, and to them he humbly referred himself, and protested against Lambton's irregular proceedings in applying to the Phra-klang for assistance, "whereby the Hon. Compa^s authority had been publicly contemned and slighted, and their esteem and credit amongst the Siamese been much impaired and prejudiced," and he declared that he held Lambton liable to make full satisfaction for all damages and detriment that might thereby accrue to the said Honourable Company, and Richard Burneby, their servant.

Lambton's reply to this protest exists, and, in it, he

claimed from Burneby a balance of about 407 cattees, and reiterates his claim that the goods left by his brother Richard in the Company's godown had been wrongfully seized for the Company by Burneby. He disregarded Burneby's warning not to address the Phra-klang, to whom he submitted two petitions. The Siamese minister very sensibly recommended the two disputants to submit the whole question to arbitration, by a tribunal of competent judges, selected from the Dutch, Portuguese, and Moorish nations,[1] but to this Burneby would not agree. The goods in dispute were accordingly sent to Surat, either on the *Tywan* or *Surat Merchant*, both of which ships seem to have been at Bangkok at the time. The President and Council at Surat were to dispose of the goods, and to that Presidency were also sent the various papers bearing on the case, to enable the authorities to judge of its merits. The President was entreated to prevent Mr. Lambton returning to Siam, where "by his presumptuous proceedings the Honble. Compa[s] authority had already been much undervalued." The factors also added that if Lambton was "permitted to profit therein it will not consist wth their Honour and Interest to settle a factory in y[s] place."

In 1679, Samuel White was at Ayuthia, having doubtless gone there overland from Mergui, between which port and Masulipatam he had been acting as a pilot, in the service of the King of Siam, for two years. His brother George, who had been temporarily assisting Burneby in the management of the factory, took the precaution, along with Burneby, to ask the Council at Madras to sanction Samuel's continuing in the service of the king, as he had given great satisfaction to the Phra-klang "whose favour they said is of considerable import to our Honble. Master's concerns here." After the application had been sent off to the Council at Madras, he proceeded overland to Tenasserim to join his vessel. His employment seems to have been sanctioned, as he continued to act as pilot or captain of

[1] Letter from Siam to Surat, dated 4th December, 1679.

the king's ships until 1682. He was also a favourite with the natives at Masulipatam, as when a contradiction of a false report of his death by drowning, in the wreck of his ship, off the coast of Pegu, reached that port, it is recorded that it occasioned "great rejoicing in the town."[1]

As Samuel White was a leading figure in the events which happened at Mergui, in 1687, a brief summary may be given here of his own account of his Indian career.[2] He says, "I went to *India, anno* 75, as mate on board the ship *Loyal Subject*, Captain *William Goodlad*,[3] Commander, for the *East India* Company; and did with the knowledge and consent of the *Governour* of *Fort* St. *George*, and by leave of the foresaid Commander, remain in *India*, giving security to indemnifie the said Commander, from the penalty of One Hundred Pounds, he was lyable to pay for any Person so left behind him, which being accordingly exacted by the Company at the Ships return, was duly discharg'd by my Correspondent here. Mr. *George White*, my brother, did at this time reside in the kingdom

[1] Masulipatam Diary and Consultation Book.

[2] "The Case of Samuel White *Humbly presented* To the Honourable, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled." No copy of this petition appears to exist in the India Office, and it was only after a laborious search that a copy was fortunately discovered among a mass of miscellaneous papers in the Public Record Office. It was presented to the House of Commons on the 18th April, 1689. S. White died, shortly after this petition was presented, and on 13th July 1689, his brother George, as his administrator, presented another petition, in much the same terms, on behalf of his two nieces, young children, and still another on the 14th May 1690. (Journals of the House of Commons, 26th December 1688 to 26th October, 1693.) They were all referred to a Committee for consideration.

His first petition, "The Statement of his Case," is reproduced in an Appendix (F.). It was replied to by the East India Company in a petition addressed to Parliament, entitled "The Answer of the East India Company," &c.; but for further details regarding this subject the reader is referred to Appendix F.

[3] In the Masulipatam Consultation Book for 1676 the following passage occurs:—

"Mr Samuel White who came a Passenger or a young Mate in ye Loyal Subject Capt Goodlad Comander (all ye women being appointed to yt Ship) He ye sd White courted Mrs Povey yt was sent for to Madras to marry young Mr Jearsy after she had lodg'd at Mr Jearsy's house she slyted ye young man and on a suddain returned him his tokens and went forth and was married by the French Padree Mr Warner minister at ye Fort refused to do it."—Ind. Off. Rec. LL. a. 2.

of *Syam*, whither at his Invitation I remov'd, and voyaging soon after to *Metchlepatam*, it happened in the time of my being there, that the king of *Syam's* Agent applied himself to the Chief of the Companies Factory, for a Person well qualified to navigate[1] a Ship of the King's betwixt that place and the Port of *Mergen*: To which employ he was pleas'd to recommend me, and I continued therein about four years, being so happy to have my services well accepted by the said *Kings Ministers*, and by them so favourably represented to his *Majesty*, that he was graciously pleased, to let me in a large measure partake of his *Royal* Bounty and favour."

The factors at Ayuthia, in their letter recommending the authorities at Fort St. George to sanction Samuel White's employment by the Siamese Government, took the opportunity to instruct Sir Streynsham Master also as to the course to be followed in addressing his Siamese Majesty. He and his Council were accordingly told that it was contrary to the etiquette of the Court of Siam to address the king personally by letter. Sir Streynsham's letter was therefore returned to them, and they were told that if they wished to write to so august a person as his Majesty of Siam, they should address him through the Phra-klang. This rebuke was not uncalled for, as the Company had shown a want of consideration of details of this kind in its communications with Siam, and had manifested an ignorance of court etiquette that had contrasted unfavourably with the politeness with which the king of Siam had been treated by other European nations.

The unsatisfactory condition of the Company's affairs at Ayuthia, which were well known to the authorities at Bantam, made them hesitate to encourage their merchants in the belief that the factory would be permanently settled, but they continued to dispatch vessels with cargoes of considerable value. One of these ships was the *Flying*

[1] In Mr. Mohun's Diary (Madras) for 1676, Samuel White's name appears in the column headed "Pylots."

Eagle, which set sail for Bangkok from Bantam, on the 10th September, 1679, with goods and specie, and the following letter to the Phra-klang from the agent.[1]

"The Right Worpll Robert Parker Esqe Agt for yee English nation resident in Bantam to ye most wise, generous, noble, valiant, and famous Prince Barcalong sendeth greeting—

"As I already have, soe I ever shall attribute ye happy Progress, and success of or Affaires to ye influence, and prudence of yor conduct, and generosity, and shall for ye future direct my Addresses solely to yor Highness, since tis yor advice not to trouble his glorious Majtie whose thoughts, and cogitations, transend the spheare of all comon things, and yett out of his inherent goodness wont diminishing his greatness hee hath beene pleased to give such orders as may not only advance ye fame of his glory, but or p'ticuler concernes, and interest, whereof I have not been unmindfull to make ye Honble Compa duely sensible, being confident they will manifest ye gratefull esteeme of these high favrs in all occasions his Majtie shall please to honor them wth his royall comands, and I am glad of ye opportunity yt has p'sented for testifying their Zeale to his service in ye provision of those goods, and curiosityes yor Highness recomended to or cheife, who tooke care to forward yr sevll directions to me, nor I was less diligent in dispeeding them for Europe by first Conveyance and by next shipping I assuredly expect them in such exact conformity to ye Mastrs as may give an acceptable Proofe yt all possible art and Industry have combined to administer to his glorious Majtie any yor Highness content and pleasure.

"I have been very unhappily disappointed this yeare by ye unusuall detardance of ye Honble Compas Shipps from England wch was ye reason of my deferring thus long to dispatch this Shipp in expectation of Treasure to acomo-

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., DD. 10, letter dated 10th September, 1679.

date o^{r} ffactories occasions, but being hether to frustrated, and ye season so farr elapsed, as renders ye obteineing her Voyage hazardous I am now necessitated to send her only wth a cargoe of cloth intending by next conveyance fully to supply them wth w^{t} cash o^{r} affaires may require. Our Cheife has acquainted me w^{t} yor Highness signified to him of his Maj^{ties} earnest desire y^{t} we erect a convenient Edifice for ye residence of o^{r} ffactors under his royall protection wch I have accordingly represented to ye Honble Comp^{a} further acquaenting them wth ye great hopes I have y^{t} ye trade will answ^{r} their Expectations in ye expence of o^{r} Europe Manufactories to a considerab^{le} amo^{t} which his sereene Maj^{ties} benevolence, and yor Highness pticuler and noble favor is ye highest motive to induce them to a settlemen^{t} and endeede I did harbour great hopes y^{t} by yor Highness assistance might have obteined a most valuable encouragemen^{t} we being assured of a yearely vent for a certaine quantity of o^{r} cloath, but ye Letter wherewth yor Highness was pleased to hon^{r} me has not gratified my desire in y^{t} p'ticuler rendering it rather very dubious, wch is a great disappointm^{t} and I ye more admire att it, because of ye conveniences y^{t} doe annually p^{r}sent for advantagious dispose thereof att Jepan, where we are certainely informed 'tis a comodity very much esteemed, and desired and yoar Highness canot but believe it dos much discourage Merch^{ts} from transporting their goods to ye remote parte of ye World att such vast charges, and evident contingen^{cys} till they are invited by some visable assurance of proportionated recompence to their hazardous Adventures, wch moves me to offer it againe to yor Highness serious consideration, humbly requesting yor favourable assistance in relation to this important Affaire, wherein unless we succeede we canot hope by any other pticuler trade to answ^{r} those Ends wch induce us to a settlement there.

"With all grateful esteeme of his Maj^{ties} Princely generosity, I humbly acknowledge y^{t} noble signification of his Royall favour, wch was delivered to o^{r} Cheife for ye Honble

Comp^{a} and ye like due thankfulness I render to your Highness for yor kind p'sent being really ashamed to finde o^{r} obligations thus multiplied, while ye unfortunate falure of o^{r} ships from England att expected season renders me now altogether unprovided to acquitt my selfe by any acceptable gratification, wch I must therefore refer to next opportunity and in ye intrim humbly begg y^{t} yor Highness will favour me in p'senting y^{e} . . . . of his most glorious Maj^{tie} ye small earnest of o^{r} grateful sentim^{ts} wch o^{r} cheife will herewth deliver, and according to yor accustomed benignity bee pleased to claime acceptance to w^{t} I have tendred in testimony of o^{r} p'culer Engagem^{ts} to yor Highness, and here as I am doubly obliged as well in respect to his Maj^{ties} dignity as due regard to ye Honble Comp^{as} concernes must rep^{ri}sent to yor highness a suspition of a great Injury y^{t} has beene offered to both by some fellonious interreptions for by ye acco^{tt} I have rec^{d} from ye ffactory, I finde y^{t} Mr. Syman Delboe at his arrivall from China afterwards Mr. Benj^{a} Sangar att his returne from Bantam did humbly make a present to his Maj^{tie} in such European Rarities as they were then provided wth and Mr. Hamon Gibbon informes us y^{t} Uperah Sinoratt did occasionally acquainte him and Mr. Benj^{a} Sangar y^{t} his Maj^{tie} was pleased to give a generous demonstration of his kinde acceptance thereof in ordering ye Honble Comp^{a} ye Returnes of : 50 : Baharr of Tinn, wch hee promised to deliver them, but they understanding from others y^{t} his Maj^{tie} according to his accustomed Magnificence had ordered a larger quantity demurred receiving y^{e} (the remaining seven lines are imperfect).

(Signed) ROBERT PARKER.

"BANTAM, *September* 10, 1679."

The vessel arrived at its destination on the 29th November, 1679.[1] The ship, however, was in a very bad condition, as on its reaching the Menam River, the factors reported, on

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., DD. 10, letter dated Siam, 4th March, 1679/80.

the 24th December, 1679, that the ready money brought by the vessel would all be required for repairs. They expected to have been able to send the ship off to Madras by the end of January, 1680, but it appears that the repairs were not completed until the following October, by which time the Company's servants had arrived at the conclusion that the *Flying Eagle* had "been an unhappy and chargeable vessel."

Towards the end of 1679,[1] the Court of Directors resolved that the factory should be kept open, but on a more limited scale, and that only one servant was to be left in charge of it, to recover debts and to look after the safety of the Company's property.[2] They had been led to this decision as the goods from Siam had sold in London at a loss. In the following year the authorities in the East were even more dissatisfied with it, and consequently determined to close it, and for this purpose the *Tywan* again anchored at Bangkok on the 27th September, 1680,[3] but on this occasion without any cargo, as the ship had been sent empty for the accommodation of what goods might be in the factory, and which were to be taken away with the Company's officials.

This decision was communicated to the Phra-klang in the following letter:—

"From o^r^ ffactory att Bantam, August 16, 1680.

"To ye most wise, generous, valiant, noble, and famous Prince Barkalong sendeth greeting."

After an introduction couched in nearly the same words as the letter of the previous year, Francis Bowyear, the Agent at Bantam, went on to say,

"Wee have formerly acquainted yor Highnes y^t^ ye cheife motive y^t^ could invite ye Honb^le^ Comp^a^ to settle a ffactory in his Maj^ties^ dominions was a benificiall vend of o^r^ Europe Manufactories to a considerable amo^t^ and accordingly wee have repeated o^r^ humble request to yor

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., DD. 10, letter dated 10th September, 1679.

[2] Bruce's Annals, vol. ii. p. 440.

[3] Letter from Siam to Fort St. George dated 19th October, 1680.

Highness y^{t} by your mediation wee might be secured thereof by a Contract wth his Maj^{ties} ffactors for a certaine quantity annually but by ye answ^{r} yor Highness was pleased to give concerning this Affaire we finde these o^{r} hopes altogeather frustrated, & by ye acco^{tts} wee have since rec͠d from o^{r} ffact^{rs} of these negotiations wee finde ye profitt doe not countervaile ye Charge wch has quite discouraged the Honble Comp^{a} from continueing a Comerce y^{t} proves soe inconmodious to them wherefore they have enordered us to recall their Serv^{ts} wth their remaineing effects hither as wee now accordingly doe and because by o^{r} last Letters from o^{r} ffactory wee are given to understand y there are sev^{ll} considerable debts belonging to ye Honble Comp: still standing out wee humbly and earnestly address o^{r} selves to yor Highness for yor effectual assistance in ye recovery thereof, whereby o^{r} p'ticular obligations will bee still further multiplied and wee shall bee more engaged to sellibrate yor Highness deserved fame for your exact, and regular administrations of Justice."

The factors declined to comply with this order to close the factory and depart, as they asserted that there were outstanding debts that could not be collected for six months to come.[1]

The Siamese officials being now aware that the Company would sooner or later remove their factory sent in a claim for rent, as the Company had not acted on the advice of their factors and built a house as had been done by the Dutch, but had been content to accept the use of one from the King. This demand seems to have taken the factors by surprise, but there does not appear to have been any sufficient reason why it should have astonished them, as a similar demand had been made on George White during part of the previous year while he was acting factor. For some reason or other, he refused to pay the rent claimed, and in consequence the Siamese officials went to Burneby and declared that it was only out of re-

[1] Letter from Siam to Fort St. George, dated 19th October, 168c.

spect for him that they did not resort to the extreme measure of turning White out of the house he occupied "and make him pay in the middle of the Row." Feeling then ran so high about this demand that Burneby fearing they might carry out their threat at once sent three Englishmen under arms to White's assistance, "in case the Caldwall should come against him," but White does not appear to have appreciated Burneby's anxiety regarding his safety, as when the men arrived at his house he was astonished, and inquired why they came in that fashion. Now that a similar difficulty had overtaken the factors as the representatives of the East India Company, they held a consultation on the 10th October, 1680, as to what they should do under the circumstances, when they recorded the following minute:—

"Whereas ye Kings Offic^{rs} for receipt of ye rent of his houses . . . . have sundry times this last yeare made demands of rent for ye whole terme ye Honble Comp^{as} Serv^{ts} have resided in this ffactory att ye rate of Catt^{s} 6: p. annum wee did att o^{r} last occasionall visitt to ye Barkalong acquainte him therewth telling we had understood his Maj^{tie} was pleased to accomodate ye Hon^{bls} Comp^{a} wth ye residencie rent free, to wch hee answered us y^{t} it was farr beneath his Maj^{ties} dignity to receive house rent neither did such little matt^{rs} use to bee p'sented to his cogniscence, but ye Offic^{rs} y^{t} had y^{t} office under their inspection had a custome amongst themselves to take a pecuniary acknowledgm^{t} of those who occupied his Maj^{ties} houses wch they imployed in defraying ye charges of repaire, and although t'was a business belowe his spheare yett because hee understood wee had beene att some considerable Expence on y^{t} acco^{t} hee would move it to said offic^{rs} to make some abatem^{t} of w^{t} they formerly recd of others for said house: by wch his Courte Curtesy wee p'ceived y^{t} rent must bee paid and haveing nothing more to urge against it y^{t} could consist wth ye creditt of ye Honble Comp^{a} wee concluded referring it to his good pleasure concerning wch o^{r} Lingua now brings us notice y^{t} ye offic^{rs} have ajusted ye acco^{tt} at

catts. 22; for ye. whole arreares till this time, and they will come to receive it to-morrow wherefore since wee app'hend ye. paymt. unavoydable nor can we demurr thereto wth.out p'judice to or. Honble Mastrs reputation, wee judge it most advisable in all respect to give a ready complyance to their demands in discharge thereof."

The rent was probably paid at once.

George White now determined to leave Siam, but he did not depart until the year 1681 was well advanced. He set sail in the month of October, as the arrival of himself and his ship the *Phœnix* at Masulipatam, on the 20th December, 1681, is noted in the Consultation Book of that factory, in which it is also stated that he proceeded with the vessel to Madras. When he arrived there, he must have at once applied for a pass to return to England, as one for himself and servant was granted before the year expired.[1]

The ship *Return*, which had gone back to Surat from Bangkok, on the 7th December, 1675, was at Bantam in July,[2] 1680, and again in 1681, when it was sent to Bangkok with a cargo to the value of ₱36,896. Mr. George Gosfright[3] was placed in charge of the Company's goods, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Ivatt.[4] The vessel sailed on the 9th August, and arrived at Amsterdam at the mouth of the Menam, on the 1st September. They wrote to the Agent at Bantam on the 18th January, 1681/2, a letter in which it is stated that Gosfright "from ye

[1] Consultation Book, Fort St. George, 3d July to 29th Dec. 1681.

[2] A document in the Public Record Office, London.

[3] Mr. Geo. Gosfright's Journal (Ind. Off. Rec. D. D. vol. ii.), entitled "Journall containing the Informations and examinacons of severall matters and all other occurrences worthy of notice since George Gosfright arrival here (Siam Anno 1881), who came commissioned from ye Worpll. Agency at Bantam to supervise and regulate the Honble Compa. affaires in this factory of Siam."

[4] In the Court Book for the 24th October, 1671, there is a minute recording the appointment of twenty writers, among whom were Elihu Yale and Thomas Ivatt. The sureties of the latter were Thomas Murthwait, citizen, haberdasher of London, and William Bearblock, citizen and mercer of London, and his bond was for £500. Court Book, 17th November, 1671.

Rivers mouth proceeded in ye Pinnace for ye City, but was soe obstructed in his passage by ye strength of ye freshes, badness of ye Boat and marrines, that y Barcalong hard of his being arrived and given notice thereof to ye factory before he could gett thither" on the 5th September, "where being landed wth all convenient expedicōn, caused ye Godownes to be examined, wherein he found wanting of w^t^ there ought to have been by ballance of the books," a considerable quantity of copper and tin which Mr. Burneby, he alleged, had embezzled, and of which he would not submit a true account.

Immediately after his inspection of the "godown," he began to make arrangements to ship the copper and tin[1] found in it, but the Phra-klang interfered, and declined to permit him to do so until he had given a written obligation to repay to the king the money borrowed by Messrs. Gibbon and Sanger. Mr. Gibbon, who at this time wished to leave the kingdom, was not allowed to do so, as the king's debt was unpaid. Mr. Gosfright declined to sign any obligation, saying "he was sent only to supervise, examine, and take ye true state of ye hon^ble^ Comp^a^ affaires;" but he assured his Highness the Phra-klang that the Company "would comply wth all his just demands." It seems, however, that the Company had some thoughts of repudiating the debt, as the following sentence occurs: "neith^r^ durst wee absolutely to refuse it feareing to fall into ye same inconveniency and prejudice wch Mr. Burneby the proceeding year incountered w^th^;" which, if words mean anything, signify that Burneby had at first declined to pay the debt.

Gosfright and Ivatt, after a further inspection of the factory, accused Burneby of having carried on an extensive private trade with Japan and the Malayan coast, and with the Moors resident at Ayuthia, in which he suffered several losses, and adduced as an instance of the latter the wreck of the sloop *Mary*, in which he had had half

[1] Letter dated 24th October, 1679 to Bantam, near Batavia.

an interest, and which was lost on the voyage to Andragera (Andragiri), on the coast of Sumatra.

A considerable interest attaches to this small vessel, as Gosfright and Ivatt record that the master was Constant Phaulkon,[1] a man who, in after years, rose to be the Chief Minister of Siam, corresponded with Louis XIV., who wrote to him as his "loving friend," and sent rare presents to King James II., to the value of £6000.[2] Voltaire [3] considered his elevation to this high dignity to be a proof of the superiority of Europeans to natives.

Very varied are the accounts which have been published regarding Phaulkon's parentage, as he has been described as being of Greek, Genoese, and Venetian origin.[4] Wherever his parents may have come from originally, he was born in the village of Custode, in the island of Cephalonia, about the year 1650, and was the son of a small innkeeper. He ran away from home in an English ship when he was ten years of age, and apparently remained in England until 1669 or 1670, when he went to the East as cabin-boy in George White's vessel.[5] White traded

[1] He is frequently spoken of as Faulcon, Falcon, Phalcon, or Phaulcken; but Kæmpfer states that he signed himself Phaulkon, which is verified by more than one of his letters preserved in the India Office. His Christian name may have been Constantine, but he signed himself Constant.

[2] A Full and True Relation of the Revolution in Siam. London, 1690, p. viii.

[3] Siècle de Louis XIV. Berlin, 1751, 12mo., p. 249; where he is spoken of as "phalk constance."

[4] *Consult* Tachard, Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites, &c. Paris, 1686, and 1869. 4to.: A Full and True Relation of the Revolution in Siam. London, 1690. 4to.: Pierre Joseph d'Orleans, Hist. de M. Constance, Premier Ministre du Roy de Siam, Tours, 1690. 12mo; another edition, Paris, 1692. 12mo.. Comte de Forbin, Mémoires du Comte de Forbin. Amsterdam, 1730. 12mo.: A Relation of the Revolution of Siam, 1745, Fol.: Beschryving van het Koningryk Siam. Van Vliet. Leiden, Fred. Haaring, 1692, and which contains two other sections; 1st. Verhaal der Staats-omkeringen, in Siam voorgevallen; 2nd. Het Leven en Daden van d'Heer Constantyn Phaulcon. Door A. v. H. in't Nederduits Vertaald: A New Account of the East Indies, by Alexander Hamilton. London ed., 1744, vol. ii. p. 170, *et seq.*

[5] Pallegoix (*loc. cit.*, t. i. p. 95) states that Phaulkon was raised to the dignity of prime minister in 1658, but (t. 11 p. 88), he says, on the authority of native records, that he did not arrive in Siam until the following year (1659). Both of these statements are inaccurate.

M. Amédée Gréhan in his work

for five years between the Coromandel Coast and the Persian Gulf, and during that period Phaulkon probably remained in his service, and, in 1675, accompanied him to Ayuthia, and assisted him in his trading operations, acting as White's factor, by which means he was enabled to save some money. Before White left the capital, Phaulkon with his savings bought the *Mary*, and having, doubtless, gained some nautical knowledge and experience in his voyagings with White, he took the command of the ship himself, but was driven back by bad weather, and was twice cast away at the mouth of the Menam. Nothing daunted, he put to sea once more, and was wrecked a third time,[1] but managed to save 2000 crowns out of the wreck. It is narrated of him that on this occasion, when oppressed with care and fatigue, he fell asleep on the shore one day, and dreamed that he saw a person full of majesty looking down on him, and with a smiling countenance uttering the words, "Return, return from whence you came," words which made such an impression on his mind, that he did not rest thinking of them until he had resolved to devote his 2000 crowns to the purchase of a ship to take him back to Siam. On the following day, while walking by the seaside, he saw a man approaching him all dripping wet, and with a sad countenance. This proved to be another castaway like himself, but no less a person than an ambassador of the king of Siam, who had been wrecked on his way back from Persia. As Phaulkon knew the Siamese tongue, he conversed with the stranger in his own language, and learning his misfortune, proposed that he should return with him to Siam in the vessel he in-

"Le Royaume de Siam, 4th edit.", 1878, p. 12, falls into a similar error.

In the King of Siam's brief history of his country, reprinted by Bowring as Appendix to his "Siam," vol. ii. p. 341–363, it is said that the first fort built at Bangkok was erected by Phaulkon in the year 1675, which is also a mistake, probably for 1685.

[1] In the Voy. de Siam des Pères Jesuites par P. Tachard, p. 189, and in the "Full and True Relation of the Revolution in Siam," London, 1690, 4to, it is said that this shipwreck was on the coast of Malabar; but it appears much more probable that it was the occasion on which the sloop *Mary* was lost on the coast of Sumatra.

tended to purchase, to which the ambassador gratefully agreed. On their arrival at Ayuthia, the ambassador introduced Phaulkon to the Phra-klang, and so highly extolled his conduct, that that minister, on whom he had made a most favourable impression, took him into his employment, and afterwards made him chief merchant to the king. This responsible office was in a very short time the stepping-stone to the highest pinnacle of political power to which he raised himself by his force of character. While in this position he traded for himself as well as for the king, ignoring the selfish claims set up by the East India Company to the exclusive trade of the East, and in this he was encouraged by the teaching he had received from George White, their fierce enemy. The result was that he was denounced by the Company as an upstart adventurer, and sneered at as having been the cabin-boy of White, an incident in his career to his credit, not to his dishonour. White's masterly knowledge of the trade of the East, and his enlightened views regarding the free principles on which it ought then to have been encouraged and conducted, had taken deep root in the receptive mind of the Greek.

He performed the duties of chief merchant to the king so satisfactorily that on the death of the Phra-klang, in 1683, his Majesty wished to raise him to the dignity of Minister of Foreign Affairs, but Phaulkon declined to accept the honour, as he was afraid that if he did so he would incur the jealousy and hatred of the Mandarins. In time, however, he overcame his fears, and was elected to this rank, and was intrusted with the administration of the finances of the kingdom, and with the government of all the northern provinces, including Tenasserim. While in this high position, he was spoken of by the East India Company as the "Grand Visier or chief Minister of the King of Siam." [1]

[1] The Answer of the East India Company to Two Printed Papers of Mr. Samuel White, &c. London 1688.

According to the East India Company,[1] Phaulkon went out to India as steward's mate on one of their ships, and elsewhere we learn that the vessel was the *Hopewell*, and that Francis Davenport accompanied him, George White being either the captain or supercargo of the vessel.

Very diverse estimates have also been formed of Phaulkon's character. By one author he is described as a loose, tricky, and deceitful man, with a smooth, ready, and fluent tongue, the cause of much mischief, and as a person who did not hesitate to gain his ends by dubious means. He, however, allowed that he was most ingenious at turning himself to anything. A very different description of him from this has been given by the distinguished Kæmpfer, who visited Ayuthia two years after Phaulkon's death, when all the jealousy of the success that had gathered round him in life was gone, and only the good of him remained. Kæmpfer describes him as a man of great understanding, of an agreeable aspect and an eloquent tongue, and that, although he had been brought up to no learning, having passed his younger days mostly at sea among different nations, but particularly among the English, he had mastered a number of languages. That he was a man of singular ability and great force of character cannot be questioned, as, from the condition of a poor cabin-boy, and afterwards steward's mate of a trading ship, he raised himself to the premiership of a foreign nation, despite the jealousies and intrigues of an Oriental court. To have attained this high position he must have been endowed with great courage, seconded by a laudable ambition and belief in his own powers. His administrative capacity, and his sagacity as a private trader, competing with and contending against the interests of two such powerful companies as the East India Company and the Netherlands East India Company, first brought him into notice, and the success that attended his undertakings, to

[1] Answer of the East India Company, &c., p. 2. See also Leven en Daden Van Constantyn Phaulcon in Van Vliet's Beschr., &c.

the disadvantage of these companies, was undoubtedly the cause of the cruel jealousy and hatred he subsequently experienced at the hands of those two corporations. Once in the service of the king, he became still more detested by them, and when the Compagnie Française appeared on the scene at Ayuthia, and Phaulkon had been won over to support French influence, the rancour of the East India Company and of the Dutch at first knew no bounds. There was no villany, in their opinion, of which he could not be capable. When he became "Grand Visier" or "chief Minister," the difficulty of his position increased, because the king being the chief merchant of his own kingdom, all sales and purchases had to be made through the royal factors, and as Phaulkon had to determine how the king's patronage should be distributed among the various nations represented at the capital, he became an object of detestation to all who thought that their claims had not received from him the consideration they deserved. He had, moreover, formed for himself a distinct policy, and that was to obtain for France supremacy among the European powers represented in the kingdom. Hence also the further ill-will to himself which he aroused in the breasts of the English and Dutch. He had been gained upon to adopt this policy by the wiles of the Jesuits, and this was his weakness; but the wisdom of his decision seemed to himself to be confirmed by the keen interest Louis XIV., another tool of the Order, took in the kingdom of Siam, and by the distinction with which his Majesty honoured the king of Siam in sending magnificent embassies and presents to his court; an experience new to Siam in its intercourse with European powers.

But to return to our narrative. Gosfright's Journal and letter extend to many pages of foolscap, and are largely taken up with a detailed statement of the charges brought against Richard Burneby and Phaulkon. Undoubtedly the most serious of these was that the former had failed to discharge the debt due to the king, which

had been incurred by Delboe, Sanger, and Gibbon, and which, without interest, had been estimated at ฿10,000, while in addition to this the factors had incurred bad debts to the amount of ฿12,000. Constant Phaulkon's name occurs as a recipient from Burneby of goods belonging to the Company on advantageous terms, to the Company's loss; a favour which the inspector had also accorded to George White.

Although the Company were at variance with White regarding his trading principles, they had had so great a faith in his integrity, that before he left Ayuthia, he had been requested by them to inquire into the "differences and harsh contentions which had continued for two years betwixt Mr. Lambton and Mr. Burneby, to the great detriment of the Company's affairs and discredit of our nation;" and Gosfright says, White would have used "his utmost endeavours, in an amicable way, to have settled the dispute," had not Burneby firmly refused to take any further action in the matter. Gosfright's own belief in White's good faith seems to have been implicit, as he states in his report that he had accepted White's bond to make good to the Company any loss they might have sustained by means of any indiscreet conduct of his in having received goods from Burneby. Samuel Potts had been White's accuser, but Gosfright and Ivatt were of the opinion that the accusation was unfounded, and they were inclined to believe that it proceeded from malice. It is due to White's memory that these details should be recorded.

Gosfright's impeachment of Burneby, however, did not end here, for he charged him with having turned Samuel Potts out of the factory in order that he might unmolested, and with more privacy, use the Company's estate for his own ends. A quarrel, however, between Burneby and Potts had existed for some months, but the latter only reported the matter to Bantam the very day that Gosfright and Ivatt wrote their letter of accusation against Burneby. Potts' story was that on the 4th June, 1679, "Burneby,

to satisfy his rage and malice, about the hour of nine or ten at night, took occasion to break open my chamber door, pretending right to a box belonging to an Englishman's child, which by the consent of the mother &c. was delivered to my charge and tuition, having continued with me upwards of two months without any demands whatsoever; yet the said Burneby forcibly took said child from me, and commanded said John Spence and coolies, he assisting them, who dragged me out of the chamber and tied me up to a tree, with other gross abuses."

These charges brought by Gosfright and Ivatt against Burneby were doubtless largely due to his having engaged in private trade, perhaps to an unjustifiable extent, at least to a degree new in their experience, for a certain amount of private trade was permitted to nearly all the Company's servants under due restrictions. For some reason or other now difficult to make out, unless it was the fostering influence of royal patronage for regal ends, the capital of Siam in the seventeenth century afforded such facilities to private trade, that the servants of the Company one after another fell before the temptation, and apparently so pleasant was the experience, that in a number of instances they severed their connection with the East India Company and took service under the king, in which capacity they were seemingly free to trade as they chose. An example of such a fall was Ivatt himself, who, like Burneby, ultimately succumbed to the influence.

A good deal of the mud thrown at Richard Burneby by Gosfright and Ivatt was prompted by the jealousy of success, because, bedaubed as he was, he did not afterwards hesitate to appear before the Agent and Council at Bantam, to whom he had been accused of these misdeeds, who, however, did not seize him as a swindler, which they doubtless would have done had he been such, but permitted him instead to return to Ayuthia to realise his trading adventures.

In their letter the inspectors informed the Bantam

authorities that nine ships had arrived that season from several ports of China, *viz.*, four Chinese vessels from Canton, three Portuguese from Macao (two belonging to the temporal and one to the spiritual merchants), and two from Amoy belonging to the king of that place, coming chiefly for saltpetre for his service in the wars. One ship from Manilla had brought treasure in exchange for calicoes, and two ships had also arrived from Surat. The inspectors, however, were of the opinion that the trade had been so bad that there had been a distinct loss on the previous year, and one explanation of this was that so many ships had arrived at Tenasserim, that the market had been glutted by the very goods that had been imported to the factory, and which the factors were now prepared to sell at prime cost.

Copper, moreover, could not be bartered for, but had to be bought for ready cash, as the king held the monopoly of the metal, which was the principal cargo of the *Return*, for the Indian coast. Tin, also a royal monopoly, could only be purchased from the king's factors at an advance of 25 per cent.

Messrs. Gosfright and Ivatt's letter[1] ends with the dismissal of Richard Burneby from the Company's service at Ayuthia and in the confirmation of Samuel Potts in his appointment. In another document[2] it is stated that Gosfright, before leaving Siam, which he did in the *Return* in February 1682, placed Samuel Potts and Thomas Ivatt in charge of the Company's affairs, but that he was not well satisfied with the arrangement, as he was afraid they would not agree together, "they both being observed to be of a fretful, peevish temper."

The vessel arrived at Bantam in the beginning of March, just as the *Scipio Africanus* was leaving for England.

[1] Without date, but probably written in the end of 1681.

[2] Preserved in the Public Record Office among a lot of miscellaneous papers; also letter from Batavia to Directors, dated 23rd September, 1682.

Richard Burneby, shortly after his displacement, went to Bantam, probably in the *Return* along with Gosfright, and was there when the English were expelled.[1] His mismanagement of the Company's affairs at Ayuthia had been reported to the Directors in London by the Agent and Council at Bantam, and orders had been sent out that the factory was only to be continued for a period,[2] and that Burneby was not to be allowed to return to Siam; but before these orders had reached Bantam, he had gone back by permission of the authorities there, as appears from the following letter preserved in the Public Record Office, London, dated Batavia, 23rd September 1682, and addressed to the Court in London. It says, "We observe yor Hon^{rs} order concerning Mr. Burneby, and had they arrived but two days sooner could have complyed therewith, h^{e} having th^{e} day befor^{e} th^{e} East India Merch^{t} import^{ed} set sail[1] upon a Dutch Ship for Syam, to wch condiscend^{e}d, when could discover h^{e} had no effects h^{e}r^{e}, and that complained unless h^{e} return'd to Syam personally, to appear in th^{e} recovery of his debts, they would becom^{e} des-

[1] It has been stated by various writers that the East India Company's servants were expelled from Bantam on the 30th August, 1682. *Vide* Bruce's Annals, Honble E. I. C. London, 1810, vol. ii. p. 486; Yule in Sir Wm. Hedges' Diary, vol. i. p. 250, *footnote*. This statement seems to have been founded on the fact that there is an entry under the date 30th August, 1682, in the Consultation Book of Fort St. George, in which the President and Council recorded that on the previous day they had advices of the unhappy and surprising news of Bantam being given away to the Dutch by the young king, and that the Company's servants had to retire to Batavia. A document in the Public Record Office, London, conclusively proves that Bantam was vacated by the English on the 12th April, 1682, and not on the 30th August of that year. It says, "On the 12 (April 1682) the English with their trumpet sounding left Bantam to embarque upon their ships, leaving the Comp^{as} Flagg flying upon their factory as usuall, and all ye shoar filled wth the sorrowfull Inhabitants, shewing the greatest signs of grief at their departure, and thus ended the English trade and Possession of the English Apartmen^{t} at Bantam, built at ye sole charge of the Comp^{a}, and being their freehold, w^{h} they had uninterruptedly enjoyed for above 70 years, and to wch place they traded many years before, that since the charter granted to y^{ou} in Queen Eliz^{a}."

[2] Letter from Batavia to London, dated 23rd September, 1682.

perat^{e}, and h^{e} should be incapacitated to satisfy your Hon^{rs}, wch carrying appearanc^{e} of truth, though^{t} it th^{e} most probabl^{e} way to hav^{e} yor Hon^{rs} debt paid, but that h^{e} may no ways prejudice yor affaire, hav^{e} given orders to yor servants th^{ere} not to entertain him in th^{e} factory, and non can b^{e} further acted in this business untill next monsoon, when shall indeavour to perform wha^{t} yor Hon^{rs} have now recommended."

Burneby was intrusted with a letter, dated 2nd September, 1682, from the Agent and Council at Batavia to Mr. Potts, informing him that they were daily expecting a ship from London on its way to Ayuthia, with instructions concerning the factory at the capital of Siam. The Court, in 1681, had had it under their consideration whether they should continue the factory, as they had previously been dissatisfied with Burneby and George White, but they resolved to do so, and decided to send the ship *Welfare* with a cargo of English woollen manufactures to the value of £10,000.[1] This was probably the vessel in which Burneby returned to Ayuthia, promising the Agent and Council of Batavia to do all in his power to recover the debts he had contracted, but Potts was informed by them that as Burneby had been dismissed from the Company's service, it was not convenient that he should reside in the factory.

Shortly before his arrival, the recovery of the outstanding debts of the Company had occupied the attention of the factors, as these debts alone prevented them from at once abandoning Ayuthia as a worthless place of trade, notwithstanding the great reputation it had, in the opinion of some, as a good market for English manufactures. They had accordingly met and resolved to appeal to the Phraklang to assist them to realize the debts, and the following is the minute they recorded at the time.

[1] Court Minutes, 1st March, 27th April, and 16th September, 1681, and 13th July, 1682. In the Court Book Burneby is called "Burnaby."

Consultation for petitioning his highness ye Barcalong for liberty to Embarque ye remaines of the Honble Conserns on board Miruah Adventure, and o^{r}selves to proceed joynly for Banta.

Wee having now used o^{r} most sedulous and faithfull endeavours in sundry addresses and aplycations to his Highness the Barcalong in behalf of o^{r} honourable Masters for recovery of those considerable Debts stañg out, p'ticul^{ry} Constant Phaulkon whoe is soe insolent and obstinet as not to bee ye least inclin'd to satisfie his obligacoñ, but by his bad example and great injustice of this place, encourages ye Moors &c. to p'sume accordingly; Therefore despairing of any furth^{r} resolv'd to petition his Highness ye Bercalonge y^{t} if it bee his pleasure not to admitt justice on behalfe of ye Honble Comp^{a} by a forceable compultion for recovery of ye foremencoñ'd Debts, and allso satisfaction for ye dishonour done to o^{r} Nation by s^{d} Constant Phaulkon, that wee have liberty to embarq ye Rem^{as} of ye Honble Comp^{as} Estate and proceed wth the same to o^{r} superiours for Bantam to rend^{r} an accompt, rather y^{n} to continue long^{r} to their furth^{r} damage and dishonour.

SAMUEL POTTS & THOMAS IVATT.

SYAM, 21*st Septemb^{r}* 1682.

This was followed by another Consultation on the 10th October, 1682, in which they record that they had addressed themselves to the Phra-klang by "a most obsequious and humble petition for justice and assistance," but without success, and that they therefore resolved to fit up a small "*merruah*" to carry them and the Company's effects to Batavia, "unless in the meantime they were impeded by the arrival of a ship of the Company's."

The debts appear to have reached the large sum of ₿67,000; but they were not the Company's only misfortune, for shortly after Burneby's arrival the buildings

of the factory lent to the Company by the king, and the goods contained in them, were utterly consumed by fire on the 6th of December, 1682. The dismissed inspector doubtless congratulated himself on his good fortune in having been interdicted the use of the factory as a residence, as those occupying it at the time saved only the clothes on their backs.

But although Burneby had the good fortune not to be in the factory, and so to have escaped the suspicion of arson that clung to some of its occupants, he was still a loser as he had some valuables stored in it, consisting of clothes and jewels. On the morning after the fire, he went with some of his men to try if he could recover some of his property, and being prevented doing so by Samuel Potts, he drew up the following protest, in which he ascribes the fire to the carelessness and debauchery of Potts and his companions, an opinion which, as will presently appear, was apparently current at Ayuthia when Alexander Hamilton visited it, thirty-seven years after the catastrophe.

Coppy Richard Burneby's Protest on acco^{tt} of his p'tended loss by the ffire in his 2 chests at ye ffactory.

To Mr. Samuel Potts.

On ye 6th Instant at night there happn'd a fire in ye Honble Comp^{as} ffactory, not wthout suspition of most people to bee by ye carelessness and debauchery of those people protected by you; who have no dependency of ye Honble Comp^{a}. On ye morn^{g} ye 7th Ditto I came to ye Factory desiring y^{t} some might rake in ye ashes to see w^{t} they could find belonging to mee. You reply'd y^{t} I came to robb, and steal; and what soe ever was in ye ashes was ye Honble Comp^{as} and your owne; ordering s^{d} fugitives to take armes, and who: soev^{r} offered to come their to fire att them; and threatening to beat my boy whom I left to look aft it. Then yor irregular proceedings I hereby de-

clare hath render'd mee altogeth^{r} incapeable of making ye least satisfaction to ye Hon^{bl} Comp^{a} for w^{t} Mr. Geo. Gosfright hath lay'd to my charge.

"I there fore doe protest against you Samuel Potts to bee lyable to satisfye for w^{t} summe or summs' debts or demands ye Hon^{bl} Comp^{a} shall or may have on mee or my security heirs or assignes; Having in those Chests which you fraduently tooke and kept from mee sufficn^{t} to have discharged all dem^{ds}."

RICHARD BURNEBY.

SYAM, *Decemb^{r} ye 8th*, 1682.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that Potts allowed some months to elapse before he communicated this catastrophe to the Agent and Council at Batavia, as the first news of the disaster did not reach them until the beginning of June. Writing afterwards to the Court of Directors,[1] they said: "In the beginning of June received a letter from Mr. Samuel Potts in Syam, bringing the unwelcome tidings of the destruction of your factorie there by a sudden eruption of fire in December last, at ten of the clock in the night, which in a moment consumed the house and all goods therein, saving no more than the clothes upon their backs, that no doubt your Honrs. will be able to receive but little of all your concerns in that country; how Mr. Potts and Mr. Ivatt have managed your affairs there, we shall not presume now to censure, leaving all to your greater judgment, for information whereof coppies of all papers rec^{d} thence goes herewith."

The news of the fire had, however, reached Surat on the 16th April, having been carried there by Ralph Lambton, who reported that the Company's property at Ayuthia had been completely destroyed. But before considering the accounts that have been given of the origin of the fire, a short parting notice of Ralph Lambton and of some of his doings at the capital may be introduced

1 Letter from Batavia to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August, 1683.

here, as from this period he disappears from this narrative of English intercourse with Siam.

After he had left Ayuthia his actions there had been investigated by the Siamese Government who charged him with certain very doubtful and irregular proceedings connected with the disposal of some tin that had been intrusted to him for sale, and likewise with having failed to return a ship they had lent to him for one of his voyages to Surat. His conduct in these transactions was brought to the notice of Sir John Child by the Phra-klang in a letter written by Phaulkon by order of that Minister of State. It is as follows:—

Pyia Setermerat De Cha chat Amat Peyia Nuchitt-Pepeta Ratena Raya cusa Pipodi Periapia Pyia. Barcalong.

SENDETH GREETING.

To the Honble John Child &ca. Council, Governour of Bombay President for the affaires of the Honble English East India Company in Surat, Persia &c.

Mr. Ralph Lambton in ye yeare 82 carried with him to Surat for Accott Clong Nye 1100: Chests of Copper, and 358 Bahrs two Pecul of tinn, all allowing him 7 p cent ffreight with order to dispose wherof for what ye market would presently afford, and after provision of what therein specified returne ye supra amot in good Eups but contrary to our expectation at Mr. Lambtons arrivall to this towne hee gives us an accott to ye Godoune Keepers, that his time was soe short at Surat, that could not possibly comply with their orders given him, and that hee had left said effects in ye hands of Mr. Geo: Bowcher undisposed.

Which seemed to be soe incredible that ye Godoune Keepers would have forced him to a compliance by ye paymt of foresaid account, but some of his ffriends interceding for him, and declaring it would bee his ruine, wee comanded him to appear before us, and inquiring of him with whom hee had left said effects gave use the same

accott. as to the Godowne Keepers, and withall promised that by the helpe of his God he would make full returnes of produce of foresaid effects this yeare.

Whereupon wee forbad the Godoune Keepers, further molesting him and moreover graunted him ye. Loane of a shipp to bee alsoe returned us, supra, wherewith wee hoped hee would have complyed, but surpassing all beleife hee has failed us in every respect, as the bearer hereof Monsr. De Landres Boreau will more p'ticularly inform you, whom wee have appointed, and given our Positive orders to recover from said Ralph Lambton all such debts, alsoe the recovery of the said shipe wch. are due to this Crowne, and in regard hee is of your nation wee have given you this accott. that in case hee should faile of making due satisfaction to Monsr. De Landre or his order, that you use your authority, soe that wee may not faile of meetting with a due complyance from him, wherby you will not only give us that satisfaction, as we hope will make you gratified to your Masters but will alsoe bee the meanes of the Remove of a Scandall, wch. will otherwise become generall to your nation, and as wee are still willing to maintaine a faire correspondence, we would willingly give you a small Insight of what will undoubtedly occurre in failure of soe reasonable a complyance, namely your Masters effects upon the place will lye open to the godowne-keepers for the Ballance of said accott. Hee usually appearing before us, and associating himselfe with your cheife &ca. ye. Company's Servants, who to all appearance never actèd any thing without consulting with him, wch. gave him that creddit with us to intrust him with forementioned Amot. Wee are very unwilling to suffer any thing that may prejudice your Masters interest, soe shall leave it to your most serious concideration.[1]

Given att. our court att. Levoe
in ye. Month May 1045,
Pr. of his Highs. ye. Barcalong
Pr. C. PHAULKON.

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., GG., c. 1.

If this letter was a truthful statement of Ralph Lambton's conduct, it certainly merited Sir John Child's immediate attention, but whether he received it has not been mentioned.

But to return to the burning of the factory; two very different accounts of the origin of the fire have been recorded. The first, by Van Vliet,[1] says that George White had lent Phaulkon a considerable sum of money from the coffers of the Company, and that White, who is spoken of as the English principal, which he never was, left the factory on his departure burdened with debt. From what has already been recorded in this narrative, it is evident that the author of this account was neither acquainted with the affairs of the East India Company at Ayuthia, nor with the origin of the debt. But his explanation of the circumstances that led up to the fire may be recorded here, as they are in such strong contrast to another account of them. He goes on to say that on White's departure, Potts called on Phaulkon to pay his debt, but the latter having been a very successful man, and having received from the king the honourable distinction of Mandarin, under the title *Acloecang Soeroe Saken*,[2] had become very proud and arrogant to all foreigners, and especially towards the English, and to Mr. Potts in particular, with whom he would have nothing to do on account of the debt. Potts having appealed in vain to the Phraklang against Phaulkon, whom he detested, at last laid a petition in Siamese before the king, who ordered the Greek to settle his debt to the Company. Phaulkon borrowed money from the superintendent of the Dutch Company to do so, and went with it to the house of the *Opra Tsu-*

[1] Van Vliet, Het Leven en Daden van d'Heer Constantyn Phaulkon, p. 3, *et seq.*

[2] According to the king of Siam, as quoted by Bowring in his "Siam," vol. ii. pp. 345, the title of *Chau-Phyá-Wichayentrá-thé-bodi* was conferred on Phaulkon by Phra Narai. Satow says this title is more correctly *Chāo phaya Vichajen*, and that to the present day it is the custom to confer honorific epithets upon foreigners in the Siamese service. Trans. As. Soc. Japan, vol. xiii. p. 187.

duk, in whose presence, and that of another Mandarin, he offered to pay Potts the money, but asked if peace was fully concluded between them. To this Potts replied that when the money was paid he might rely that there would be peace. On hearing this Phaulkon took up the money again, and gave it to his servant to carry away, and he immediately took it back to the Dutch factory and returned it to E. Aarnoud Fa, the superintendent, from whom he had borrowed it. After this he took good care that Potts should never again have access to the king. The author then continues, that Phaulkon suddenly hired some unscrupulous rogues to set fire to the English factory, and that the structure and its contents were reduced to ashes,[1] so that all evidence against him was destroyed, and that he had hoped to include Potts, but that this part of his plot failed. This account breathes such a malicious hatred of Phaulkon, that it cannot be accepted as true.

The second account by Alexander Hamilton[2] is almost the exact opposite of Van Vliet's. This author says that Potts, by his extravagant luxury, had rioted away a great part of the Company's goods and money. To cover his delinquencies, he explained that 500 chests of Japan copper which the Company had in specie at Ayuthia had been eaten up by white ants, which Hamilton explains "are really Insects, that by a cold corroding liquid Quality, can do much Mischief to Cloth, Timber, or any other soft Body, that these Fluids can penetrate, but Copper is thought too hard a Morsel for them." Hamilton states that he saw "that Article in the Company's Accounts, as they were remitted from *Siam* to *Bombay*, and were in Mr. *Vaux's* Custody at *Surat* afterwards." This imposition

[1] Copies of the correspondence bearing on the burning of the Factory buildings were preserved in vol. xii. of the DD. series of Sir George Birdwood's Report, but they have been recently separated from the rest of that volume. They, however, still retain Sir George's classificatory designation, DD. Series, and bear in writing the following title:—"Factory Syam Anno 1681/2, Coppy of Letters &c. Transactions Relateing to Affaires of the Honble Comp^y^."

[2] A New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 168.

of Potts', however, was not sufficient to do away with his shortcomings, "so after supper one night, as they were merrily carousing, the factory was set on fire, and that balanced all other accounts, Mr. Potts alleging that Siamese were the incendiaries." The king, on the other hand, offered to prove that Mr. Potts and his drunken companions had done it.

On the 30th April, 1683,[1] the Agent and Council at Batavia wrote to the factors complaining that they had not heard from them since Burneby had left them. The isolation of the two factories seems to have been largely due to the circumstance that the traffic from Siam lay more in the direction of India than Java. The Court had become aware of this fact, and accordingly, in 1682,[2] they resolved to remove the factory at Ayuthia from under the jurisdiction of Batavia, and to place it under Surat and the Government of Bombay. As this decision had been communicated to the Agent and Council at Batavia, in the early part of 1683, they informed Messrs. Potts and Ivatt of the change, and told them to expect the arrival of a ship from London direct. The incidents following the arrival of this ship will be narrated in the next chapter.

The question of the private trade of the Company's servants, and of others outside the Company, had been long occupying the attention of the Directors, and, at the end of December, 1682, the Council of Surat began to take active steps against the abuses of their servants, and the trade of outsiders who were designated "interlopers," doing so on the strength of the powers granted to them under the royal proclamation. The authorities at Fort St. George followed the example of those at Surat, and, in July 1683, vigorous measures were adopted to seize all interlopers.

It was resolved by the President and Council at Surat

[1] Letter from Batavia to Messrs. Potts and Ivatt.
[2] Letter from the Court, dated 20th October, 1682

that all vessels with Englishmen on board, arriving at any port where the Company had a factor, or that should be met at sea by any of their shipping, and could not show a pass from the President and Council, or chief of the port from whence they came, should be proceeded against as interlopers. It was also ordered that all persons, of what quality soever, were forbidden to deal iu pepper, cardamom, or *Cassia lignea*, and all were warned that if any one "shall be found to buye or sell any of these Commodityes, theire goods shall bee seized on for the Honble. Company and sent home." Passes for vessels were granted for one year at half a rupee a ton.

But besides the presence of interlopers at Ayuthia, the factors there had to contend against "the envious designs of the Portuguese to impede their trade." The factors themselves were also jealous of one another, and their petty squabbles were carried to such an extent, that the Bantam Council wrote to Batavia, on 16th February 1682/3, desiring that the debt at Ayuthia "might either be paid or some person sent thither to retrieve the English honour."

CHAPTER V.

STRANGH AND YALE MISSION.

THE *Mexico Merchant* was the ship the factors at Ayuthia had been told to expect from England. It left Gravesend in December, 1682,[1] and arrived in the Menam River on the 1st September, 1683. It carried the two factors, Mr. William Strangh and Mr. Thomas Yale,[2] who were armed with full powers to investigate the Company's affairs, and to continue, or remove the factory, according as they thought fit.

On the voyage, they were probably waited on by "a black servant, belonging to Mr. George White," who had been permitted to return to Ayuthia on the ship.[3]

Mr. Strangh left the ship at the bar of the river, and proceeded to Bangkok. He spent the first night of his

[1] Court Minutes, 3rd November 1682.

[2] In the Court Minutes for 18th October, 1682, "It is ordered that Mr. Wm. Strangh be elected factor for India and to be chief of Syam in ye absence of Mr. Gosfright at ye Salary of £50 per ann., and that Mr. Thomas Yale be settled fourth of that factory at ye Salary of £30 p. ann., and be obliged to continue on ye ship now bound thither to give ye Compa an account of their affairs in that place, and of all proceedings in the voyage at home."

William Strangh was recommended to the Company for employment, 9th October, 1682 (Court Book), and his sureties were Francis Hunt, itizen and haberdasher, and James Lyell of London, merchant, his bond being for £1000 (Court Book, 23rd October 1682). He was admitted to the freedom of the Company 20th December, 1682.

Thomas Yale was admitted into the freedom of the Company by redemption, on the 26th May, 1682 (Court Minutes). In various documents in the India Office he is spoken of as the brother of Elihu Yale, afterwards President at Fort St. George. Elihu's elder brother was David, and his younger brothers Theophilus and Thomas, but where the latter and Elihu were born seems to be uncertain.

[3] Court Minutes, 22nd November 1682.

journey at the Dutch house, and it was there the news of the destruction of the factory by fire on the 6th December, 1682, reached him for the first time.

The following day, 2nd September, 1683, he proceeded up the river, and, to quote from his own account, "about 4 at Night arrived Bancoak when was sent for to speake w[t] the Governour, who confirmed the burning of the Factorie, adding that most iff not all the Comp[a] goods, might have been saved, the people of the towne flocking to theire assistance, had they not been hindered by Mr. Potts."

Next day he proceeded to the capital, and on his way he was met by Mr. Ivatt in the Dutch state boat, in which he completed the journey. Arrived at Ayuthia,[1] he was introduced by Mr. Ivatt to "the house of one Mr. Constant Phaulckon, a great favourer of the Honbl[e] Company," and "principal merchant and favourite" of the king. He was kindly received by Phaulkon "with proffers of exceeding many services," and an intimation that having heard of his coming, a house which the king had provided was being prepared for him, "and would bee readie within a day 3 or 4." During his residence at Phaulkon's he met a number of Europeans, also partakers with himself of the Greek's hospitality, but only one of them, and that was Richard Burneby, whom he had never seen before, welcomed him. Phaulkon having noticed that Strangh did not know who Burneby was, asked him what he "had heard in England of one Mr. Burneby," to which he replied that Burneby might probably be then in England, and if so, he would certainly "be severely handled by the Honb[le] Comp[a] being accounted by them a wicked person." Burneby, who was present when the question was put, then and there stepped forward and offered to clear himself, as he asserted he had already done before

[1] It comes out incidentally in Strangh's Diary preserved in the India Office, that he was ignorant, on his arrival, of the name of the capital of Siam, which he learned was called *Judea*. His Diary is a lengthy document, extending over many pages of foolscap, and teems with minute details of his supposed grievances.

the Council at Bantam, who had permitted him to return to Siam, and had given him his discharge from the Company's service.

The Phra-klang who had granted the *Tarras* or trade licences to the Company, in 1675, died shortly before the arrival of the *Mexico Merchant*, and as the king had wished to elevate Phaulkon to this high position, it is evident that his influence in foreign affairs, at this time, must have been very great. Moreover, Phaulkon, on the death of the Phra-klang, having declined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was elevated immediately afterwards to the nobility of a Mandarin, as has been already mentioned; he was thus at the height of his power during the visit of these two Englishmen.

The third day after his arrival, Strangh had an interview with the new Phra-klang, in which Phaulkon took a prominent part. The Minister accused Samuel Potts of having infringed the laws of the country, and informed Strangh that his predecessor had only desisted from prosecuting Potts out of respect to the "ancient amiable correspondence" that had passed between him and the Company.

The house that had been preparing for the reception of the commissioners was now finished, but was despised by Strangh as "a meere dogg-hole, more likely a prisson than a dwelling house."

He was now joined by Thomas Yale, who arrived from the ship, bringing with him the presents sent by the Company to the king, and the letters to the Phra-klang. He also carried with him a letter to the Emperor of Japan from Charles the Second, and which his Siamese Majesty was to be requested to forward to its destination, but although these Englishmen had come direct from London to the capital of his Siamese Majesty they had no royal letter for him. This stupid oversight, on the part of the generally shrewd Court of Directors, was doubtless regarded by the king and his officials with marked disfavour, and un-

doubtedly placed the commissioners at a great disadvantage in their intercourse with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, in his relation with other Western nations, had always found his royal master treated with every consideration and respect, royal letters having been received from Portugal, France, and Holland.

The commissioners then proceeded to investigate the circumstances attending the burning of the factory house, which had been lent to the Company by the king on the arrival of Mr. Delboe at Ayuthia, and which, the Phraklang said, had been large enough for the reception of the Company's servants and effects, and in which "Mr. Delboe, Mr. Hammon Gibbon, and Mr. Richard Burneby had lived free from all danger, and hazard, for the space of eleven years," but in which "Mr. Potts could not live for a year without consuming it with fire to the ground." It is thus quite evident that native opinion suspected Samuel Potts as the incendiary, and, as has been already learned from his narrative, Alexander Hamilton, who, in 1719, appears to have made inquiries on the spot as to the origin of the fire, upholds the native suspicion. Although Strangh does not record in his diary any very reliable opinion as to the origin of the fire, it will be learned from a letter he wrote to Phaulkon before his departure from Siam, and which is reproduced farther on in this work, that he insinuated that Phaulkon was implicated to a certain extent "although he could not charge him with matter of fact." In this letter, however, he ignores the circumstance that Samuel Potts was present in the factory when the fire occurred, and makes the further insinuation that "little Ivatt" and Samuel Harris, who were also in the house at the time, "did not discover" that Phaulkon was "the bellows of that flame." But having been treacherously seduced by him into the service of the king, Ivatt was made a lord, and Harris employed as a captain or factor. Potts, being hated by Phaulkon, got no preferment; he was, therefore, jealous

of Ivatt, whom he reported to the Company at Surat; but the judgment of the President and Council on the dispute between these two servants was that Ivatt's error lay in residing with Phaulkon, which was the *gravamen* of Potts' indictment of the little Lord.

This fiasco at an end, the commissioners then took up the accounts of the factory, and made an attempt to recover the outstanding debts. The books showed that the Company was in debt to the king, but neither Potts nor Ivatt could give them any satisfactory information on the subject.

The commissioners had come out from England armed with an explosive, which Strangh, who was hardly the person to "retrieve the honour of the English nation," fired on the very first opportunity, quite regardless of the other and more weighty concerns intrusted to him. This bomb-shell was the Company's denunciation of interlopers. The occasion selected for communicating to the Siamese Government the views of the Company on the subject was the arrival at Bangkok from Surat of Captain Pines, an arch-interloper. Strangh's first course was to ask Phaulkon, in writing, whether his Majesty would countenance the interloper, and what formalities he (Strangh) should observe in addressing the Phra-klang for an order to debar the unfortunate interloper from any trade, and "that so effectually that no underhand dealing may be used." His indiscreet zeal also led him to insinuate that Phaulkon would be guilty of a misdeed if he trafficked with the interloper; but he added that he hoped Phaulkon would sacrifice his interests for the good of the Company.

This absurd demand brought Phaulkon to the factory in person, accompanied by Captain Pines. The Greek's reply is thus recorded by Strangh in his diary. He says, Phaulkon declared "that as the ho: Comp^{ie} had soe much slighted Siam, threatning to dissolue this factory from tyme to tyme, and never truely settled; Mr. Gosfright carrying of all the effects of this place, and not knowing

what I would doe (this being a free port for all strangers to traffick in, of what Nation soever). The King would take it very ill that I should propound such a thing ,to him And iff the King should grant it, his subjects and other strangers would complain against mee afterwards, that by my means hee was chased away, wch I might bee perswadet the King would never doe, especially such a one, who wt his ready Cash, the best of all comodeties, outdares us. Soe that what arguments I could or did use, of the ho: comps proffering a constant and great trade to come directly out of Europe hither yearly, from wch they could expect more advantage, then from this interlooper, whom may bee they should never see again, wt what more in large I could invent, signifyed little to his own selfe interest in the case. that tould me plainly, except I could doe soe as they have done at Surratt and the Coast, to prevent the Interloopers buy up all the goods, wch he would buy, I could not prevent him, nor helpe myselfe. Hee having bought 4 ships cargoes of Coast & Surratt goods wch would stick close to him for a tyme, iff by this means hee did not quitt himselfe of some."

The interview thus ended with but little satisfaction to Strangh.

The subject of the Company's trade at Siam was discussed, a few days later on, at an audience with the Phra-klang, to which Strangh was accompanied by Mr. Ivatt and Mr. Yale. On his arrival at the reception hall, the commissioner found Mr. Gibbon there, and, seemingly to his annoyance, a number of Englishmen who had come uninvited by him, *viz.*, Mr. Burneby, Captain Pines, Captain Betts from Surat, Mr. Bashpoole, servant to Phaulkon, and Mr. Berkely, servant to Mr. Gibbon.

The letters brought by the commissioners were first delivered to the Phra-klang, Phaulkon sitting before the Minister, translating them into Siamese, and then addressing Mr. Strangh in the name of the Phra-klang.

The letter from Charles the Second to the Emperor of

Japan was next delivered, with the request that the Phra-klang would forward it to its destination, which, Mr. Strangh was assured, would be done "in due tyme of shiping." The Minister, however, took occasion, through Phaulkon, to remind him that there was a strict prohibition by the Emperor of Japan against all Christian nations trading with his country, with the exception of the Dutch, who had disowned Christianity. Under such circumstances the Minister was curious to know, in the event of the Emperor of Japan granting to the Company freedom of trade, whether they would renounce Christianity, as the Dutch had done. Mr. Strangh replied that the Company would not renounce Christianity for the trade and gains of the whole Indies, an answer which elicited from the Phra-klang the remark that he had spoken well.

The Japan letter being thus disposed of, the interview turned upon the character of the goods that had hitherto been generally imported into Siam by the Company from Bantam, and which were condemned, as they were not so fresh as those brought direct from Europe. The Phra-klang, however, was not pleased with the goods that had come from Europe in the *Mexico Merchant*, as he asserted they were unsuited to the Siam market. Strangh's reply to this was that they had been selected at the request of the Company's servants "residet long in this place," who, he thought, "ought to know what is proper;" but added, that if by their "unfaithfulnesse or neglect" the factors had wrongly advised the Directors on this occasion, it might "bee remedit for the furthur."

He then proceeded to press the Phra-klang to find "out some means whereby not only a constant but great trade might bee created off all such English manufactories as other Europe goods" that might be most proper to Siam. To this request the Minister replied that Ayuthia and Siam were open and free for all merchant traders going or coming to sell and buy, but he regretted that the East India Company "could not find that incouragem^{t} in this

country, as other nations could find here in Siam;" but as he was no merchant, he "could not tell how to remedie same, but would recommend this affaire to the King's merchants and goedoune keepers," and that they would be sent to treat with Strangh.

The debts owing to the Company were then brought forward by Strangh, but the Phra-klaug emphatically refused to have anything to say to them, and mentioned that his predecessor had warned the Company's servants against trading with native merchants without his approval, and that some of the debtors were dead, while others had "broake" or were "not worth anything." He promised, however, if Mr. Strangh could find out any that were "able to pay and not willing," they would be compelled to discharge their debts, while the bodies of those who were unable to pay would be delivered to him, and he might put them in prison. With this concession the interview closed.

A few days afterwards all Ayuthia was *en fête*, as the body of the former Phra-klang, then lying in state, was burned, the King himself setting fire to the pile on the 29th September. On the 1st October, 1683, Strangh wrote that "notwithstanding the Fray of Saturday's great bussiness (the cremation of the Phra-klang) not being over or settled," he sent the interpreter to summon all the debtors to appear before him, and while this was being done he occupied himself trying to dispose of the ship's cargo. Several brokers came to him saying they could find Portuguese merchants prepared to barter copper for his cloths, but that they were afraid to make any arrangement until they knew how much of the cargo Constant Phaulkon wanted for the king. Many attempts of this kind were made to sell the goods, but all proved unsuccessful, owing, it is said, to the underhand conduct of Phaulkon, who, while professing to be willing to give the commissioner every opportunity for so doing, was firm in his resolve to keep the trade with the English in his own

hands. Strangh, however, was not very discreet in the way in which he conducted his negotiations with the Phra-klang and Phaulkon, and the course he took did not meet with the support of his colleague, Mr. Yale, who, he complains, was all for Phaulkon. This want of concord largely contributed to bring about the resolution they ultimately arrived at to leave the place.

As Samuel Potts had been suspended owing to the way he had been mixed up with the burning of the factory, and as Thomas Ivatt had all but severed his connection with the Company, the two Englishmen fresh from Europe, finding themselves alone and utterly ignorant of the place in all its aspects, trading and diplomatic, resolved to look out for assistance from among the Englishmen then resident at the capital. We accordingly find the following minute recorded in Strangh's diary on the 15th October, and as it throws considerable light on their position, it is here quoted in its entirety. Strangh says, "Mr. Yale w^{t} mee pitched upon Mr. Hammon Gibbon as an ould Standert in this place, and who had the report of everie bodie in toune of an honest man, against whom wee had hard noe complaints of the ho: Comp$^{y.}$ also that was well versed, and knew the whole course of trade in this country, though troubled w$^{t.}$ the impedim$^{t.}$ of hard hearing, was resolved to embrace him for our assistance, to advise w^{t} us for the good and benefitt of the honb$^{le.}$ Comp$^{ie.}$ Soe hee thought good, there being non in toune, that I could see amongst all the Eng$^{h.}$ that stood really affected to the ho: Comp$^{s.}$ affaires, soe as hee did seeme and had expressed himselfe when did comune w$^{t.}$ him about theire affaire, and the trade of the Country. And this day was to speake to him about it, but that dined abroad w^{t} Mr. Ph. and came in late at night."

On the 17th October they held a consultation, in the minutes of which it is recorded that Mr. Hammon Gibbon accepted the proposal. They then at once held a conference laying before him the Company's instructions,

and demanding his advice on some points, the nature of which appears in the following resolutions.

"As to the first. For absolutely dissolving of this Factorie according to the ho: Companies positive orders and instructions. It is considered, that this ship should then goe for Surratt dead freighted, w^{t} most of the cargo, improper for that place. 2dly Iff dissolved, now Bantam being lost the ho: Comp^{ie} would have noe save footing in thir South Seas (that wch the Dutch should gladly see:) and noe vent for our cloth or other Manufactories which may bee transported from hence to all parts in China and Japan. 3dly, The King having a great love for our nation, and the ho: Companie, has bestowed Sev^{ll} favors and grants of places upon the coasts of his territories (tho not accepted of) also lent the ho: Comp^{s} Factors, monÿ, and goods, for dispatch of theire ships, w^{t}out any interest wch the Dutch and French doe pay. Should as credibly enformed, highly resent our leaving of this place and withdraw his favors and affection from us hereafter, If should bee resolved upon, to settle here anew. To the 2^{d} For our staying heere upon tryall. Wee have this hope and probable asseurance next yeare to make our cloth, and other manufactories a speciall Comodity, and may bee at our owen rates. Since last yeare, there was by the China and Japan Juncks, great enquiry for cloth &c^{a} all being burnt, and they could have non except any from Bantam.

"And for the trade of Japan. As the ho: comp^{ie} has wisely considered a probable port, to introduce them in that trade (wch iff this factory bee dissolved, all hoopes is lost, off ever coming into that trade:) wch in respect of this Jong Emperour of Japans seeming inclination (: as is reported:), of granting to all Nations a Free trade in his Country, Iff were but followed closely, is thought may bee obtained. And then this port, since the losse of Bantam, might bee made a fitt place, ather for a head, or subordinate factorie, as they shall thinck fitt. Iff not that, there is a probable meanes, of contracting w^{t} the Chineses

(: who trade to Japan :) for a considerable quantety of cloth and other Eng^{h}. Manufactories, to bee taken off every yeares ather for ready money, Barter for readïe Kopper, Tinn, Tutanagge, or other rareties from Japan. That wch the King of Siam will not bee imposed upon, but as his occaissions bee, sever himselfe from all nations, tradeing in his Kingdome, granting the ho: Comp^{ie} free transportation of theire cloth, or other manufactories, in his Juncks freight free, too and from Japan, w^{t} full assurance, that his Merchants shall give a true and faithfull acc^{t}. of the very hight of that Marckett (: the Danger of the seas only excepted :) and is the same as iff their ships were sent thither directly from Eng^{d}. or this place. And would saife the ho: Comp^{ie}. the charge of maintaining a factorie, w^{t} the presents that must be given. All wch. shall bee demonstrated to the ho: Comp^{ie}. Not that wee will (: if not being in our instructions :) middle in that trade, untill theire aprobation.

"Lastly: As to the debts standing out heere, Since the Barcalonga will not take upon him the recoverie, but leaves it to us to follow. Iff this factorie bee dissolved, will unavoidably bee lost. But iff upon this short tyme of tryall, wee take for discovery of the true state and condition of this trade as afores^{d}. Wee can, by compulsion or otherwayes recover part, iff not all (: since accompted desperat :) and but soe much as will defray the charge of a small factorie, for the tyme wee ar to have our tryall in, would be an advantage and noe losse to the ho: Comp^{ie}.

"The which carried on, w^{t} all imaginable dilligence, extreame thrifft, and fidelitie, without any sinister or selfe interest, Wee hoope may give the ho: Comp^{ie} content, as well in the true state and condition of this trade, as the frugaletie of our Expences. Our main scope being in this, what wee thought might bee the ho: Comp^{s} interest only."

This record of their conference was signed by Strangh, Gibbon, and Yale, and in Strangh's Diary it is followed by his reflections on what had taken place. He says:—

"These being the reasons alledged by the ould man, Mr. Gibbon, and aproved of by mee as a seeming advantage to the ho: Companie, soe a meanes might bee found, ather for Bartering of this our cargo, or otherwayes, this ship might not goe dead freighted for Surratt. And thereupon went w[t] Mr. Yale to advise w[t] Mr. Phaulckon (who as yett was unsuspected :) and to heare his Councill, it being the tyme of the Kings traversing op and doune in the country, and in the woods (: as reported :) that would not setle at Levoe this 5 or 6 dayes yett (the Barcalong being w[t] him and his whole court), non being left but Mr. Phaulckon. I tould him wee were come to take his advice, in our Masters affaire. Since his highnesse the Barcalong (: to whome wee were recomendit :) as well by him the First, as the last tyme wee were before him, did promise to order some of the Mandareens, or Kings Merch[ts] to come and trade w[t] us about our Cargo, but has not. And that this was a meanes or els some privatt prohibition, that hindered Merch[ts] from coming nigh to trade w[t] us. There having been some, that would have bargained w[t] us, and has come nigh our prizes, but has tould us plainely, before the King was first served, or his Mandareens, they durst not bee seene or knowen; Nor would not accept of my Bearing of them harmelesse, or beleeve that the Barcalong had given free liberty to any one that pleased to buy or sell w[t] us. I tould him our tyme was spent, and I could see noe other remedie for us, then goe as wee came. W[ch] Mr. Ivatt having fore seene, had deserted the ho: Comp[s] service by tymes and noe sooner entered but deserted; that for the future have embraced Mr. Gibbon for our assistant, to alloise w[t] us, &c[a]

"Mr. Phaulckon tould us, it was true, the Barcalong did speake of sending the Kings Mc[hts] to treat w[t] us, but he is gone w[t] the King and left noe ord[r] to any that hee knowes off; Now wee can not help our selves wee come to him, wee should have done this at first, and our bussinesse had been done. I tould him as we had a letter

from the ho: Compie to him, there in (: as hee has seene:) they recomend all theire affaire to him, and assisting of us, Could not ansr the not delivering of it, according to theire instructions, and that could been at first. I should gladly have seene the Barcalong. Would have transferred the Bussinesse to him to wh replyed its true, but that it would not have been soe well to have come from him, as from mée, hee had it once in his thoughts to have spoke of it to the Barcalong, but was overswayed by second thoughts.

"The ho: Compie had done very ill, in not sending a letter from the King of Engd to this King wch would have been very acceptable, and furthered theire affaire mightely, having lately had an ambassador from the King of France,[1] and letters from the Prince of Orange, but contrarie soe much shylted Syam that they had ordered us away; wch the King would not resent well, and did assure us iff wee did, if iff ever after the Compie did intend to setle as now Bantam beeing lost hee did not see where they could doe better. It would cost them sauce, and not 20,000Ps would procure them such priviledges again. Nor those favors they had recd from the King in lending of them money and goods, &ce and that wee had tould him about Merchts not daring to buy, there was noe such thing, if any stop they only came to sifft us, and may bee iff they could run away and never pay for our goods. The tyme of selling our cloth was not yett come till the arrivall of the China and Japan juncks, when would goe off, and not before. And as for the contract wt the King, as formerly mentioned, was not to bee affected, there being many difficulties, and hazards in the Case, as iff such a contract should bee enected, and supose for 10 or $\frac{20}{\text{ms.}}$ pounds worth of cloth, &c. to bee delivered next yeare, for wch copper must bee provided against the next yeares arrivall of the Ships, that

[1] This doubtless refers to the arrival at Ayuthia, in July 1682, of the Bishop of Heliopolis with a letter and presents to the King of Siam from Louis XIV. Pallegoix, t. ii. p. 167.

may not bee disapointid. Iff he ship by some causualety does not arrive, or lost, who should stand to the losse of the Kop^{r} lying upon the King's hands. And on the other hand, when the ship or ships did arrive and that ather the Japan Junks did, or did not arrive w^{t} any Kop^{r} (: as in some yeares it has hapened :) The Comp^{ie} would be disapointed and pretend damages. Then he tould what might bee done in the trad of Japan by shiping o^{r} goods on the King's Juncks, &$^{c.}$

"And therefore tould us, it was his advice, we should dispatch the ship w^{t} what wee had already (: as what we had from Mr. Potts :) and could procure for our readie mony w^{t} what wee were to receave from the King in liew of our presents, wch hee s^{d} would bee considerable, and stay the arrivall of the next ship, advising the ho: Comp^{ie} and waite theire further order; for was sure iff wee did goe, The President would next yeare send some to setle heere.

"From them we fell on discourse of Mr. Ivatt that did not doe well to desert the Comp^{s} service, hee would speake to him of it; wee had done well to embrace Mr. Gibbon and would advise mee not to adhere to Mr. Potts, who would ruin the Comp^{s} affaires wondering why I did not send him abroad. hee had waited all this while to see what satisfaction wee would make him by establishing an examplaire punishm^{t} on him for what affronts and abuses done to him by his tongue and penn, wch he would still awaite, and iff did not gett any from us, swore would take satisfaction, and bore his tongue trew w^{t} a hott Iron, wch after had tould what I had in his behalfe gave him my councill to bee better desired=and not to bee so revengefull.

"That day being the first of our taking his advice, as wee tould him wee would in this, soe hee would assist us, in getting the ship dispatched w^{t} a good loading, in due tyme, wch hee promised, and bragged, hee never gave any advice yett to any bodie, but what hee would maintaine

and desarved thanks for. This night went to see the Dutch chieff."

On the following day Strangh records that he "tould Mr. Potts have a care of himselfe, telling him what Mr. Phaulckon had threatened, wch Mr. Potts w^{t} as much indignation on the otherside slighted; Scarce a day passing w^{t}out great contests, hott disputes, and invective speeches of Mr. Potts, about Mr. Phaulckon and him, and all his other transactions, to the noe little disturbance of the house, not regarding what I said, that made mee weary of my life and often prayed for Peace, but could not have it. Mr. Yale on the other side taking Mr. Potts his part, as to the threatenings of Mr. Phaulckon tould me hee would not see Mr. Potts soe runn-downe by Mr. Phaulckon, hee did not know how soon it might bee his turn that they might come to cutt his throat, as others ar threatened; wch added more fewell to the fire that there was noe enduring of itt."

Strangh says Potts had bragged that he could call the whole town as a witness that he did not set fire to the factory; but this boast ultimately dwindled down to four men, "fellowes of noe repute; whome I had upon Mr. Potts request summoned to apeare and give in their evidence what they had to say, but did not apeare. One evening before Mr. Potts brought a fellow w^{t} him very late, and after super called mee a side, and tould mee hee had some privacie, going w^{t}hin apart, hee proved drunk and nott on word of sence to bee gott out of him, thought what hee would have said was to vindicate Mr. Potts his actions. Soe confidently, that hee averred to know the very secrets of the hon:^{ble} Comp^{s} affaire, nothing hidden from him, nor the thoughts of Mr. Potts: This fellow was a Dutchman, a Goldsmith, a very idle fellow.

"Having formerly upon Mr. Potts turbulent urgencie granted him my noates to summons in before us whom hee pleased. As there was severall persons, and noates given him, amongst others, Mr. Potts tould mee of a Portuguesse gentleman that knew of the plott, and could not (: for

feare of Phaulckon:) come nigh the factorie, nather did hee understand English, he would wreite a noate in Portuguesse in my name to come to the factorie, when should heare wonders from him. Hee writting this noate and interpreting it to mee, in the sence that hee knowing where the steward was, that runn away by the light of the factorie would doe well to bring him w[t] himselfe, that might bee examined before mee. So that or the like purposes, w[ch] I asked him, iff had writt nothing els, averring there was nothing els lett my hand to it. When hee seemed pleased, and had rest soe for some hours, till about 7 or 8 o'clock at night. When all allone in the Chamber, there came word to mee, there was two men would speake w[t] mee I not mynding, before could ans[r] they stood before mee, both of them Dutch men, one iff not both very drunk, who tould mee they came upon my desire, asking theire name, and upon what acc[t] they came at this onreasonable hour, tould mee, on Mr. Potts acc[t] they came before hee went out of the roome, Mr. Yale being then above (unknown to mee:) w[t] one Mr. Griffith and Mr. Berckly, upon whose appearance and Mr. Yales, thrusting him out of doores, I was ridd of that badd company, not w[t]out some shrewed suspition to bee of Mr. Potts hectors."

As the days passed, and Strangh came more in contact with Phaulkon, and failed to secure his influence towards the promotion of the interests of his honourable masters in the way he wished, he began to hate him, and to attribute all his personal troubles, as well as those of the Company, to the malice and enmity of the Greek. He therefore charged Phaulkon with abusing the authority of the King, and with monopolising all the trade to himself, either out of some private grudge against the Company, or from avarice, and to get the Company's estate into his own hands and to manage it at his pleasure, as he alleged Phaulkon had done in Burneby's time, and recently in the case of the goods supplied to the Surat ships. On the other hand, Phaulkon's complaint was that the Com-

pany had been very fickle in their dealings with Siam as regards the permanency of a settlement, and that they had undervalued the place. Until the English followed the tactics of the French and Dutch, Phaulkon held that they could not expect the same privileges as these nations, no more "than this, that, and the other," said Phaulkon, one day in an interview with Strangh, pointing to several persons present, and amongst the rest to Captain Pines, the interloper.

The French were at this time in high favour, and were treated with every consideration. We read of a house having been erected at Louvo for their bishop, and to which the English had to resort stealthily, on one occasion, to consult with one another, as they had no privacy in the inn, where they were "all packed up close together;" and of the French chief receiving a coat richly embroidered with gold, while the English received a much humbler garment.

The English were likewise subjected later on to the indignity of one of their number, Mr. Potts, being put in the "Stocks and Congees, like unto that of the Pillory," by the order of Phaulkon, who hated him. The reason assigned for this harsh treatment was that Potts had been found at night outside Phaulkon's house for the purpose of "waylaying to murther him;" the English story being that Potts had purchased a butt of beer from Francis Heath, who was living at Phaulkon's, for a chest of copper, and had gone at night to deliver the copper, and sending up a message to Captain Heath to come to him, he was observed by the night-watchman, and seized by Phaulkon's orders.

About the beginning of November, 1683, the *Delight*, one of the Company's ships, commanded by Captain Smith,[1] arrived below Bangkok. This vessel had been bound for Canton,[2] and had reached within forty leagues

[1] See Hedges' Diary, vol. i. p. 121.

[2] At p. 117 of Hedges' Diary, vol. i., it is mentioned that Mr. Richard Mohun, in the *Recovery*, on his arrival at Ballasor from Acheen and Malacca, reported that he had met two of the

of Macao when it was driven out to sea, and had to make either for Tonquin or Bangkok. Winds and waves drove it to the latter port. The merchants on their arrival congratulated themselves that they had not reached China, as they found on their arrival at Ayuthia that the Tartars at Canton were strictly forbidding all trade with foreigners, and were punishing by death all who had any such correspondence with barbarians, and were attacking all who adventured on their coasts. The *Delight* had on board Mr. Peter Crouch, Mr. John Thomas, Mr. Abraham Navarro,[1] Chinese interpreter to the factors in the *Delight*, and Captain Smith's parson.[2] The presence of these officers was taken advantage of by Strangh to obtain their advice as to whether the factory should be kept on or dissolved. In their first consultation they resolved to continue it, but on a second, after a further failure to barter their goods for copper, and Phaulkon having used threatening words regarding Lambton's debt to the King, they resolved to close the factory, and to present a petition to the King exposing what Strangh considered to be the malignity of Phaulkon.

Strangh accordingly began to make his arrangements to go to Louvo, where the king was at the time, but Thomas Yale declining to accompany him, he appealed to Mr. Crouch and to the Jew, Abraham Navarro, and he says he would have had to go alone had not these two men had more respect to the Company's interest and

Company's ships in the "Streights," and from the context, p. 122, we learn that one of these ships was the *Delight* and the other the *Smirnaote*, and that Hedges had been informed by their commanders "they were bound for China, to seeke out and settle a Trade there where they could find admittance," p. 117.

[1] In the Court Minutes for 3rd November, 1682, it is recorded that "Mr. Abraham Navarra was now elected into the Comp^a^ service as an Interpreter, to go for China at the Salary of 50£ a year, and was now admitted into the freedom of the Company." On the 10th December, 1689, he was appointed by Sir John Child along with Mr. Weldon to negotiate a peace with the Mogul. Bruce's Annals, vol. ii. p. 637.

[2] At Ayuthia there was occasionally a show of religion, as it is recorded by Strangh that on Sunday prayer was held, when Mr. Rathband (captain of a ship called the *George*) made or read a sermon tending to charity, and when he had finished it, he presented a petition from a poor Englishwoman for charity, "which was then subscribed by every one, and by me 4 tayle or ₱10."

pitied him, and resolved to go along with him. He however adds, that it was only "on hard entreaty that he had gained Mr. Navarro, by reason of a report of Mr. Phaulkon spread abroad, that might come to Navarro's ears of the Jewes." The report was this, that Phaulkon had had on one occasion "a serious discourse w.t the King of Syam about the Christian Religion, of w.ch hee (Phaulkon) bragged hee had almost persuadet the king to tourne Christian. By his zeale the King did show, at the passion and Death of our Saviour by the Jewes. That hee should have swoare, iff ever hee found a Jew in his country, hee would putt him to the same iff not worsse torments, w.ch," Strangh says, "I confesse was reason enough for him to be affraid. Hee being a Jew. Yett notwithstanding upon my protesting to protect him, was overpersuadet to goe."

On the 27th November they were at Louvo, and their proceedings from that day until their concluding interview with the Phra-klang will be best told by Strangh himself. He says, "In the morning wee hard the King was come early this morning from hunting of his Oliphants and was thought weary that would no goe abroad to-day. Soe wee all tooke a walke and when farr out of towne, found the King and all his traine ridding upon his Oliphant at a great distance from us, going home from viewing of those Oliphants hee had taken, that missed him but narrowly from giving him our petition."

The "*Moreman*" in whose house they were putting up, and who was in great favour with the King, acquainted the Phra-klang of their arrival, and at night a messenger came to them to ascertain on what business they had come to Louvo. They, however, declined to inform him, but agreed to respond to the request he brought from the Minister that they should meet him next morning.

The following is Strangh's account of this interview on the 28th November:—"About 8 a clock in the morning came Mr. Phaulckon to Levoe, and with him the Interlooper Abeene, Mr. Burnaby, Mr. Ivatt, and Mr. White

(this was Samuel White), with one Captain Paxton at whose bussinesse I wondered at, since had non I knew of there, but was ordered to goe aboard and see all things ready for our coming, the more since I saw him only in his drawers and shirt. What the others businesse, was, I knew. Mr. White, Mr. Burnaby, and Mr. Ivatt was to be invested in Robes and in their offices of Scabander (Shāh-bandar[1]), Governour &c. of Tenassery Soe that except our Captn came to fetch another coate, I could not imagine what hee came for: My admiration still more increasing, when was sent for to come to the Barcalongas, that I saw him sitting there, in comp^{ie} w^{t} Mr. White, who had nothing to do their nather more than o^{r} Captain, except it was to bee a Witnesse against mee for Phaulckon, in what passed. Mr. Phaulckon in his usuall seate, satt next to the Barcalong, that could whisper together.

"Notwithstanding all that crew (: as was once of mynd to have desired Mr. Phaulckon to withdraw whilst I had delivered my message, but that considering the sturr hee would make at my bidding a Minister of State to absent, and that would bring in a new costom et^{c}) I delivered my selfe to Franc Robson, and hee to a New Lingoe I had taken on, in this Nature.

"That upon his Highnesse Grant of Free Trade w^{h}out any hinderance or molestation as noe lesse Mr. Phaulckon perswassion and allurem^{t} I was of the opinion to have stayed to try what possible could be done in the trade of this place, as for the recovery of those considerable Debts due to the honb^{le} Comp^{ie} our Masters, in this place. Notwithstanding all the disincouragem^{t} I have mett w^{t} from my first arrivall (: as often have aquainted yor highnesse :) All wth tho it was tould mee that did proceed from Mr.

[1] *Shāh-bandar*, frequently written by old English travellers and others *Shahbunder*. According to Colonel Sir H. Yule (Yule-Burnell Glossary), it is a Persian word meaning "literally 'King of the Haven,' Harbour-master. This was the title of an officer at native ports all over the Indian seas, who was the chief authority with whom foreign traders and ship-masters had to transact. He was often head of the customs."

Phaulckon, I could not beleeve, because hee gave mee, the same asscurauce as yor. highnesse did, untill now that he has plainly discovered himself to bee the secret and hidden obstructer, not only of the former, but present trade of this country wt. the honble. Company onder pretence of authoretie having lately contracted wt. some merchts. for a parcell of kopr in Barter, for other goods wch. noe sooner arriving his notice but hee putts a stop too itt, wth. imprisoning of the Broaker, and scurrilous reflections on our Masters the honble. Companie. Pretending an imbargo from the King; wch. iff had been, his Highnesse would have aquainted us therewt. and never bidd us try the markett. Wherefore seeing soe great obstruction in our Trade I was now come to take my Leave; desiring his highnesse tara for our departure, wt. all the ho: Compies. effects and servants. And as for the debts, since recomendit to his highnesse for recovery, and that wee could effect nothing in that affaire, I desired hee would please to give countinance to Mr. Hammon Gibbon, to come and mynd his highness in that affaire &c.

"The Barcalong to this gave a short reply. "That as hee was much bussied heere above wt. States matters of the king, sould not attend below, therefore had apointed Mr. Phaulckon to help and assist us as well as all other merchts. Mr. Phaulckon thereupon taking the word out of his Mouth, and after whispering to themselfes; wt. a Sterne Countenance, and invective Speech, Carried the whole discourse in Enge; thus:—

"That I should know, before whom I was, and spoke too in this nature, a Prince of this country and should not father any such thing upon him, off Free Trade and the like, Since hee himselfe not many dayes since, and as hee thought the day before I made this bargain, had thould mee of an Embargo upon kopr. for this yeare, and that for any thing els I had Libertie to Barter for, but not in Copr., Whereupon I going to interrupt him, and to tell him it was falce, hee bid mee stay, and heare what his highnesse

had to say, before I interrupted him, hee proceeded to tell mee, that by this Bargain Making, I had runne my selfe into a great primonarie, to contradict the kings order and Lawes, What I thought of my Selfe, and what Would become of mee, iff the king like other Indian Princes, should use the rigour of this Country Law against mee: But that his Great king and master was a most gracious king, and a Lover of Strangers. Iff had beene of his Natives I should have seene what had beene done too mee. His Highnesse was of the opinion, and had the good hoopes of mee at first, that the honble Companies affaire might be better regulated, then has beene hithertoe, but was sory to see it inclined rather to worsse, and therefore gave mee Free Libertie to depart, as I requested. my tara should bee readie wt. in a day or two. And as for the debts standing out in this Country, my nominating Mr. Gibbon was well. Hee would affoord him all the assistance hee could, But should consider that they were all desperate, and that could not trouble his highnesse wt. such a bussinesse not to be recovered."

To this Strangh replied—

"That what I have fathered on his Highnesse, was nothing but the Truth wch ought (: though may not :) at all tymes to bee spoken before Kings, lett bee Princes. As for the Great Primonary and dreadful punishment, I have deserved, though favored I thanked him for his graciousness, Though must needs tell him, iff had gott his 400 chests of kopr. I had not yett my full complimt. according to the Tara for the Ship, wch. I suposed to bee the Kings, or the Barcalongs tara, procured by himselfe. a sufficient warrant for mee, that I intended to ship soe much kopr. and was granted. Hee should have left it out of the Tara, and tould mee then if an imbargo: Iff any such were, it is after the grant of the genll. tara, wch. I hoped the King would not recall. And that wch. makes it more plaine and doubtfull whither there bee any embargo, is that those China men has an especiall Tarra from the King himselfe

for selling of this kop^{r} wch would not have been granted iff any imbargo had been; Moreover the Queens kop^{r} and they hir Merch^{ts} Could I or any bodie els, think hee durst oposse or stop same when had yor owen words that had nothing to doe or durst not midle w^{t} them. As for his Zeale and Sorrow hee had for the ho: Comp^{is} affaires as inclining rather to worsse then heeretofore, hee has showen it by this, and in it his falce Zeale and Shams put upon them; And bidd him consider w^{t} himselfe, what the ho: Comp^{ie} has to doe, to setle upon such termes as these, or how I could well ans^{r} it to stay The greatest favor I now desired after all this, was that might have my dispatch.

"To wch Mr. Phaulckon replyed somewhat milder, That the Tara I soe much stood upon, was for shiping of, of the kop^{r}, I should have had a tara for buying as well as for shiping, they were two different things. and as for the China man hee should bee severely punished for telling a Lye that had a tara when had non. Our tara should bee readie w^{t}in a day or two, only we must stay for the King and Barcalongas letter to the Comp^{ie} wch must bee altered.

"Asking me iff I had any more to say; The Barcalong was weary to sitt soe long. I tould him noe, Soe I could but have my dispatch, hee should soone bee ridd of our trouble, and after made our salam or obeysance, The Barcalong as iff raised from Sleepe, tould mee, hee must have all our Ironworcke, for wch would give us other goods, wch I should promisse him, I tould him, hee might. Soe thereby noe further hinderance or delay may bee created. Hee tould mee the boats that brought doune our goods might bring up the Ironworcke. For was onwilling Phaulckon should have them to his new house a building, and therefore tould him they were for the most part on board. Yett upon his promisse that should bee dispatched, promissed hee should have them.

"Soe parted for this tyme: Not w^{t}out a very severe check at last to Mr. Abraham Navarro, for his former threatening as hee termed it (: though was no such thing :),

That iff it were not for the Europe blood w^{t}in him, hee should not escape his reward in threatening so Great a King, as his Glorious master at present hee past it by."

Strangh's Diary closes with this interview of the 28th November, 1683.

The pass which he had demanded was not granted to him for some time, but, on the 28th December, he wrote a letter from "Levoe" (Louvo) to Messrs. Gibbon and Yale, in which he says that he had got his "dispatches to go hence, only wait the 'Barcalongas' letter to the Honb^{le} Comp. and our tara, which I am afraid out of spite will be detained, yet got that verbal grant to be shiping off what goods is in the house."

He consequently issued orders for their immediate shipment, and that all should be in readiness for his coming down, and nothing wanting, "but to be gone," the factors were informed that the *Merruha* lay at "Amsterdam," the Dutch factory.

The dilatoriness of the Siamese officials, in supplying him with the pass he asked for, so irritated Strangh that he attempted to leave Luovo without it. This comes out in a postscript to a letter written by Phaulkon, "December, Anno 1683," and which says:—

"Since signeing the foregoing, your chief Mr. Strangh has percisted in his former irregular courses in divers respects acting contrary to the statue lawes of the kingdom for the which he had certainly suffered condigne punishment had not the consideration of your being altogether unacquainted, and unconsenting to these his irregular proceedings prevented, and on his coming to this place we were glad to hear he had so great regard to your orders in prosecuting his voyage to Surrat, and only requested him to wait some few days for musters of curiosities his Maj^{tie} designed thither, but contrary to all expectations said Mr. Strangh has attempted clandestinely to go without them, a poor recompense for the multiplied favours your nation has rec^{d} from us, however his dispatch is

seasonable to the place he is bound, whether we wish him and your affairs safe and prosperous passage, but advise that if your intentions are to have a future correspondence in these our parts, to make such a choice in the person you design for the management of your affairs as may be for your nation's credit and your interest.

(Signed) P. order afos^{sd} p^{me} C. PHAULKON."

The truth of Phaulckon's statement, that Strangh had attempted to leave clandestinely, is verified by the latter in a long letter he wrote to the Minister, and which is here reproduced in its entirety, as it contains a full account of his grievances, one of which was that he was kept under strict guard, after his futile effort to be gone without a pass.

He was, however, permitted to leave Louvo immediately after he had received the verbal order mentioned in his letter quoted above, and, on the 2nd January, 1684, he was on board his ship the *Mexico Merchant*, then lying at "the Barr of Syam." Once more on his floating castle, he relieved his mind and indignation by firing off this broadside :—

"TO M$^{R.}$ CONSTANT PHAULCKON,

"*From Wm. Strangh, dated from the Barr of Syam,* 2 *Jany.* 1683/4.

"I have two of your scurrilous false imputations of the 16th and 24 Decr. to answer with a little larger explanation of the brief though ample import of my first parenetics charge to you of the 2d Decr. was my sute with your impolite weake capacity jumbled through your sudden and surprizing elevation to a souv'ing Lords^{pp} or a heathenish Grace, and that I may not bee allways imperious or like you a rayler shall insert some few p'tculs relating to my former charging you: to be the sole and only instrum^{t} of all the Honble Comp^{s} former and present losses and sufferings in this place.

"To begin with the first as the fireing of the Factory not without some cursed treachery (which heaven detect), though cannot charge you with matter of fact, yet cannot excuse your indirect clandestine practises set by so many cunning and crafty ingins, corrupting and treacherously seducing little Ivatt and Saml Harris to your practize and faction, with no less then Hono^{rs} and great imploy's for their reward, the one a Lord forsooth, the other sent in your imploy for so far a voyage that are the only in the Factory when took fire, both honoured and imployed, might not discover the bellows of that flame.

"Secondly your sowing and blowing the coals of hatred and dissention betwixt the two Factors, affores^{d} to that height that at last tooke hold of and consumed all the Honble Comp^{s} effects in this place to ashes, what formerly and long before that sad and fatal accident was designed, was ready to be transported off the place to Bantam, had not your false zeal towards the Hon^{bl} Comp^{s} interest and clandestinly informing the deceased Barcalong that Potts was running away with the Comp^{s} effects, hindered his good intentions, and preferred this their great loss to serve your malitious ends.

"And above all this your insolency in heaping so many indignities upon them by imprisonment and putting in the Stocks and pillory their servants without controule making factory with other their disaffected servants and all this for your getting of Credit out of the Ho^{ble} Comp^{s} God^{os} (when by your own confession not worth a gouree) for so considerable a sum as nigh (?) 400 catt^{s} the space of 3 years without interest, an ingratitude that ought to be punished with the highest severity. You not satisfying . . . with your accursed avarice without the utter extirpating the Honble Comp^{a} and English nation from trading in this kingdom.

"Att my arrival for preventing my true knowledge and information not only how the Comp^{s} affairs was carried on and ruined by you, but of the trade of this place, sent

from a princip. of your self interest, fearing my approach would be prejudicial to your monopolized trade of this Kingdom, did send your . . . . ingin and creature Ivatt to congratulate my arrival so as to know all the Honble Comps affairs on you, the only great Sultan Solyman of this nation who to meate your insatiable avarice protested so great kindness and service to the Compa amot to 15000$ ptended to be proferred by the Agent and Council at Bantam to the deceased Barcalong for procuring what they could not but you would and did undertake to procure the contract with the King and by for the taking of yearly English manufactures to a considerable value, until such time you by yourself so termed foolish Barcalong to whom we were recommended did inform yourself of the Honble Comps design by their letter to the Barcalong as by your private letter from Mr. White your creature touching the discourse the Honble Compa had with him about Mr. Potts writing and calling you Greek and powder monkey with no small reflections on the management of their affairs in those parts especially not being taken notice of by them, much less a pish cash[1] of 15000$ for you so turned the scale of your affection to their prejudice that notwithstanding all the fair promises and grant of free trade inferior to the Dutch and French without that Ceremony of an Ambassador from our King to this could bee no settlement.

"You by the abused authority of your great Master and favoured of our nation not acquainted with your prancks and Tricks has not only privately but publickly, some on pain and forfeiture of life and goods, others with threatning and imprisonment forbidden and hindered all Merchants Brokers &c. so much as peepe or come near the Factory either to buy or sell with us as is evident to be proved, with your scurrilous reflections on the

[1] Pishcash or "Peschush in the old English Records is most generally used in the sense of a present to a great man."—Yule-Burnell Glossary, Supplement.

Honble. Compa. of being broke and not worth a gouree that you may well say as you falsely and impudently do insist in yours that I have done nothing this 3 months but consider whether I would go or stay, neither of which I could effect, being by you intervened from either buying or selling; kept as a close prisoner in the factory for above a month, on purpose to loose the monsoons that might not arrive in time with Capt. Pines to discourse the abuses and great injustice of him to you in the affair of Mr. Tyler, all our household servants and the cook and natives of the country chased from the Factory and imprisoned, myself guarded so closely and strictly that when only upon Tryall did attempt an escape after you had arrested the Honble. Comps. effects in the place (which was not willing to leave behind me) was disgracefully brought back to the Factory with innumerable indignities and abuses more, which would make a volume, and shall leave to my superiors to judge and take notice of what to them or me committed (as you say) with whom I never had dealings for a farthing as to my own ptiend: but must needs say that as an Orrambarro; am rather to be pitied than blamed for falling in amongst so many disaffected persons to their God and country and bless myself that I escaped so well, (though as my Faths. dogg which lost his tayle) more than now have in your possession would have fal'n to your share I'm sure of it, and tho as you say I have done with Siam yet hop the Honble. Compa. has not, I do believe it with you and therefore in the name and behalf of the Honble. Compa. do by these solemnly and in *optima forma* Protest against you Constant Phaulkon to be liable to answer and make satisfaction either in body or estate for all above mentioned damages and great losses &c. already mentioned or hereafter may accrue to the Honble. Compa. by your detaining of this the ship Mexico Merchant so long to the no less hazard, as damage of loosing her Monsoon and the lives of those that go in her Your detaining of our second mate Mr. Anto. Wil-

liams[1] against his will and consent, with all other losses damages and abuses by what name soever termed or distinguished and not expresssed in this non excepted to the contrary notwithstanding, for them to seeke their full satisfaction in any place or part of the world excepted as they best can or may. WILLIAM STRANGH."

In writing a letter such as this to the man who was then supreme in the government of Siam, the Company's commissioner, to say the very least, manifested how utterly unfitted he was to conduct the business that had been intrusted to him. He seems to have been lamentably deficient in prudence and tact, and also in courtesy, as it was a studied insult to address the Greek as Mr. Constant Phaulkon, when he was perfectly aware that he was a high Minister of State, and, as he himself allows, a Lord of the Empire of Siam.

The *Mexico Merchant*, with the Company's goods on board, and with Messrs. Strangh, Potts, and Yale, set sail from the Menam a few days after this letter was written, thus closing the factory at Ayuthia. Mr. Peter Crouch of the *Delight*, in which ship he had sailed from England, on the 14th January, 1683, had written in October to the President and Council at Surat regarding his voyage, and accounting for his presence at Ayuthia, and stating his views on the condition of the factory. He says, "The Affaires of ye Honble Company in this place, have for a long time bin much prejudiced, for want of good managem^{t} by reason of private contentions, and animositys between their servants, whereby the gen^{ll} good and interest of the Honb^{le} Company hath bin neglected, if not otherwayes abused, and opportunity, given to those (who notwithstanding their pretences of kindness and respect to ye Honble Company

[1] In Harris's Coll. of Voyages and Travels, 1764, vol. i. p. 920, it is said that at this time Captain Williams was made admiral of the king of Siam's navy, but there is no mention of this in Strangh's Diary. It is probable that the A. Williams named in the above letter is the individual mentioned by Harris.

are their enemys), to undervalue and abuse y^m., an instance whereof is Mr. Constant Phaulkons taking Mr. Potts (some few daies since) by violence as hee was about his business, and exposing him publicly in the Congoes, and Stocks to the derision and contempt of the natives, a thing soe greatly to the dishonour of our nation, and Honble. Company espetially when noe misdemean^r. of Mr. Potts required itt but only the malice of y^e. p'son whose authority caused it to be done. . . . y^e. only cause of y^e. ill success, and present disapointm^t. of y^e. Honble. Company, here, can bee attributed to bee sinister and selffe-interessed contrivances of Mr. Cons^t. Phaulkon, whose industry is imployed in blasting the Honble. Companys business, that soe hee may the better fflourish, and advance himself therby, as knowing y^t. whilst y^e. Honble. Company have an established ffactory here, he can't bee soe absolute over the English private traders, nor soe well ingross their comodity's to himself, neither can hee soe well succour, nor imploy interlopers of whom hee is a great encourag^r., as his eminent kindness to Abany declares, who having traversed most part of India had (were it not for his entertainm^t. here by Mr. Phaulken) returned home without a trade.

"Wherefore Mr. Phalkon hath not stuck att violence or deceite or whatsoever might contribute to effect his designe &c.

"This is the necessary that wee thought ourselves obliged by conveyance of Mexico Merchant to give your Hon^rs. account of."

The ship arrived at Kárwár in May, 1684, and after wintering there, proceeded to Surat.[1]

On its arrival there, Sir John Child condemned the way in which Strangh had conducted his mission, and, moreover, he afterwards wrote to the King of Siam disapproving of Strangh's behaviour, in having left Siam contrary to his orders. He also blamed him to the Directors

[1] Letter from Mr. Strangh to the Court, dated Carwar, 11th May, 1684. It arrived at Surat, 24th October, 1684. Ind. Off. Rec., AA. 6.

in London[1] for not having accepted a cargo at Ayuthia when he might have had one to a considerable amount. Strangh had declined the goods that were offered, as he considered it would have been to the discredit of the Company to have carried them.

The most important witness against Strangh, however, was his own colleague, Thomas Yale, who, when the ship arrived off Kárwár, declined to sign a letter drawn up by Strangh,[2] in which he ascribed their detention at Ayuthia and the failure of their mission "to the evil and wicked practices" of Phaulkon. Yale, having refused his signature, wrote the following letter. He says, "To signe to ye foregoing part of this Gen^{ll} which only specifies the animositys, twixt the chief Mr. Strangh, and Mr. Phalkon or to affirme said Mr. Phalkon to bee ye Companys ware Diametrically opositt to my judgm^{t} and the advices I have continually given Mr. Strangh, wch when it pleaseth God, wee arrive at Surratt, I shall endeavr^{r} to give your Hon^{r} &c. Councill satisfaction in y^{t} affaire."

The commissioner had reported to Sir John Child on his return that to all appearance Phaulkon "would not stand long," and that his behaviour towards merchants had been such "that none would adventure thither, and that many had complained of him." He was described to the Directors as being in "appearance a very naughty man;" but the President and Council at Surat added, "if he continues in favour we shall write to him, and gain on him what we can for your interest."

After the departure of the *Mexico Merchant* an incident occurred at Ayuthia that led to the imprisonment of two of the officers of the ship *Delight*, still lying in the Menam,[3] waiting for the change of the monsoon, when it was to

[1] Letter to Honbl. Company, dated 29th November, 1684.

[2] To the President and Council at Surat, Carwar, 3rd May, 1684. Ind. Offi. Rec., GG. c. 1, 20.

[3] A Journall of a Voyage to China in the shipp *Delight*, Captain John Smith command^{r} in ye service of the Honble English East India Company, and kept by thayre servant Peter Crouch. India Office Records, China, vol. xvi. 1637–1703.

sail for China. It arose out of the refusal on their part of a request that Phaulkon had made to them for some iron nails for the use of the King's factors. Alexander Hamilton[1] records a somewhat similar episode as having happened, also in 1684, but in connection with the ship *Carolina*, which had been forced by bad weather to winter at Bangkok. During the stay of the vessel, the King of Siam, requiring some stores for shipping, asked the English to let him have what he required from the *Carolina;* but although he offered to pay for what he wanted, his request was refused. Hamilton says this incident was long remembered by the Company, and afterwards used as a pretext for declaring war against Siam. As the presence in the Menam, in 1684, of a ship named the *Carolina* has not been established by a reference to the Records in the India Office, it seems probable that the vessel was not the *Carolina*, but the *Delight.* The episode, however, was more serious than Hamilton seems to have been aware of, as he makes no mention of the imprisonment of the factors of the ship, which the Company afterwards resented, when it came to their knowledge, as an unjustifiable and high-handed proceeding—an insult to the English nation. The circumstances will be most graphically recorded by the reproduction of the correspondence that passed between Phaulkon and Peter Crouch, the merchant of the *Delight.* It begins with a letter from the former, dated Syam, 1st February, 1684, in which he says that the King's factors "jointly desires y^t. in time of theyr want you would be pleased to supply them wth. the undermentioned perticulers being for their stores," the goods they asked for being nine peculs of "Nayles." He then continues, "Time not permitting to make them, therefore, pray faile not to send them, it being well known y^t. you have the perticulers to dispose on, appointing whom you think fitt to come up and receive the produce thereof in what you please, it will be esteemed as a kindness amongst them, and the supplie

[1] A New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. 167.

of these small things I assure you will bee a great obligation to him who is

yor loveing friend
to serve you
C. PHAULKON.

John Crouch, Merchant on board
The Delight now Rideing at
Amsterdam."

To this request Peter Crouch and John Thomas, who were then in Ayuthia, replied on the following day that they were very sorry they could not accede to it, excusing themselves on the ground, to quote their own words, "that this is not our consigned port, and therefore since wee have lost our monsoone, we shall by breakeing of bulke here contract to our Honble Masters the damage of paying this shipps wholl demorage wch will be noe small charge, and therefore hope yt excuse in this thing will be added to all formr favours and kindenesses, for wch wee shall returne or hearty thanks and acknowledgments who are

yor most humble servants

PETER CROUCH.
JOHN THOMAS.

To Mr Const Phaulkon,
In Syam."

Phaulkon replied to this refusal the same day as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I have perused your paper of the 2d instant in answer to a request of, in the behalfe of his Majesties ffactors, and perceived your powerfull reasons in securing your Masters interest, in respect of the owners of the Ship demands in case of breakeing bulke to that I answer yt foresaid Gentlemen who are concerned in the shipp, have a great deale of reason to thanke heaven and his Majestie, the former for bringing theyr shipp safe to this harbour and the latter for protecting and securing theyr estate whilst in his Majesty's kingdom to whom all nations are highly obliged but yor Honble Masters much more, for the many favours received of his Majesty, and really I am very sorry, yt soe small a favour whilest paid for

should in recompence be denied him, but to putt an end to all disputes I will be plaine wth you.

"That it is his Majesties positive commands that upon receipt of this you order the delivery of what nayles you have aboard yor Shipp, wth all speede possible, paying you for them as you and the world shall judge fitt, and becaus you have given us in yor paper to understand of yor unwillingness for aforesaid reasons, you are ordered and confined together wth the Purser of yor shipp in this Cittie till ye Perticulars desired of you be delivered to his Maj^{ties} ffactors.

yor loveing friend

C. PHAULKON.

To Mr. Peter Crouch and Mr. Jno. Thomas, ffactors for affaires of y^{e} Honble East India Comp^{a} then Present."

To prison they were accordingly taken, and from it they wrote the following letter, headed, "Clang Noy ffeb^{r} 4^{r} $168\frac{3}{4}$.

"S^{r},—It is the unhappiness of our present condition that one of two great inconveniences must be our choise, but yet soe great is the difference betwixt them, y^{t} wee rather close wth an unequall suffering then runn ourselves into the desert of a just one by doeing an unanswerable action.

"If it is not y^{t} wee delight in trouble and contention, or y^{t} wee are off a disobedient humour, but it is our misfortune not to be understood, or credited, it is becaus wee doe not a thing out of our power that wee are ceased and imprisoned, when the same authority may wth as much reason and ease take the trifles about which is this great trouble as our persons. Neither of them can you comprise under any other denomination than restraint of this court whereby wee are forced to obey if our persons restrained or submitt of our Masters goods, but cannot think it excusable in us for releasement of our bodyes to deliver

theyr goods were it in o^{r} power, for y^{t} must be by a voluntary act of o^{rs} and wee thanke God y^{t} feare doth not in the least cloud or byass our judgements.

"Consider sir y^{t} wee are in a Joale wthout a bitt of bread or Rice or a place to lay our heads, and scarce water destitute of friends, wth an addition of generall displeasure, wch for want of being understood, wee are not able to moderate, arguments sufficient to make us comply wth any thing y^{t} is not of a worn tendency, such as this demand to wch wee cannot complie must submit to the effects of its displeasure.

Yo^{r} hum^{ble} serv^{ts}

PETER CROUCH.
JOHN THOMAS.

To Mr Constant Phaulkon
In Syam."

Under these trying circumstances the brave factors passed another day, but were at last brought to capitulate by the pangs of hunger. Their next letter, also dated from the Clang-Noy, 5^{h} ffeb. $168\frac{3}{4}$, says:—

"S^{r},—Since wee perceive by Oloung Sibattibang y^{t} it is yor unalterable resolution to have the nayles for wch in order to obtaining our consent and order, wee have beene so long confined, wth the restraint of all manner of sustenance for life, hitherto and strict prohibition of same till wee consent to yor demand a powerful way of subduing the will by starveing the body, wch effect on us wee are not able to resist and therefore for our releasement from this imprisonment and famine complie wth yor demands as you will see by the enclosed note to the Commander: Wee have left o^{r} invoyce and bill of Lading aboard, and therefore are at a losse for ye marks and numbers, not ever but waiting for the messenger for our releasement and rest.

Yo^{r} hum^{ble} serv^{ts}

PETER CROUCH.
JOHN THOMAS.

To Mr Constant Phaulkon
In Syam."

Crouch's imprisonment, however, did not lead him to shun the seductions of the capital and betake himself to his ship, as we find a letter from John Thomas written to him on the 22nd February, in which Thomas says he could find him nowhere, and had not seen him for ten or twelve days. The explanation of Crouch's absence is afterwards given in the same letter, in which it is said, "noe busyness of our Mrs. detaining us here, since the Capt. moreover requireth us aboard in order to speedy departure hence in wch. thing wee are absolutely subjected to his judgement, and since you can plead noe other reasons for this yor. tarrying behind us but to gratifie yor. own lusts and pleasure, though as well to the scandall of yor. employment, as to the manifest hindrance and disadvantage (as farr as in you lyeth) to our Honble. Mrs. affairs wherein you are imployed. I once more for all require you in the name of or. Honble. Masters to repaire aboard otherways declare yt. you are liable to answer for wtsoever detrimenit may ensue by means of yor. refusall in any wise wtsoever."

Crouch, however, turned the tables on Thomas, for, on the 1st March, he wrote to him from on board the *Delight* at Amsterdam, ordering him to repair to the ship, which did not sail until the beginning of April. But before they left they wrote a letter on the 2nd April to Samuel Barron,[1] merchant in Siam, thanking him for the civilities

[1] This man was the author of an account of Tonquin, entitled "A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen, by S. Baron, a native thereof." According to Sir Henry Yule (Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. clxxxvii.) the following notice of him occurs in the Court's letters: "We have entertained Mr. Samvell Barron . . . . intended Second for Japon, whoe informed us that he was borne at Tonqueene, His Grandfather by the Father's side a Scotchman, His Father a Dutchman, And his Mother of the race of the Portugalls; hath bin in the Dutch service, well acquainted with Tonqueene, Tywan, Japon, and China." His account of Tonquin was published in the sixth vol. of Churchill's Voyages (3rd edition, 1746) pp. 117–160. It is prefaced by a statement of how he came to write it. He states that he had been desired by Sir John Hoskins and Mr. Robert Hooke (doubtless the experimental philosopher, and for a time Secretary to the Royal Society) to note and correct the errors in Tavernier's description of Tonquin; but making small progress therein, and tired with finding faults and noting mis-

they had received from him, and also sent to his care an open letter addressed "To the Honble Comp^{s} servants on board the next shipp for Europe" in Syam river, cautioning them "y^{t} this may no more be surprised unwittingly," and another letter laying their case before the Portuguese ambassador "dessiring him to do the like to the King, for satisfaction or redress, and shall desire you to receive his replie wth having informed y^{t} you as the Honble Comp^{s} servant are deputed thereto, and shall intrust you to act therein according to your own wisdome on our Honble Masters behalfe not doubting your utmost endeavours of promoting theyr interest: this s^{r} wth the presentation your humble service to your selfe and Lady and wth all other friends in the necessary form.

Yo^{r} ffriends and servants

PETER CROUCH.
JOHN THOMAS."

The *Delight* was ready to sail by the beginning of April, but its departure seems to have been delayed for a day or two awaiting the arrival of two or three passengers for China. Who these were is learned from a letter preserved

takes, and thinking that he should thereby give small satisfaction to the curiosity of these worthy gentlemen, he was led by these considerations, together with an ambition to do the public acceptable service, and to demonstrate his profound respect to Sir John Hoskins and Mr. Robert Hooke, to write the history of Tonquin. In a letter addressed to these two gentlemen prefacing the work, he says he had requested them to remove or cancel what in his account might be either against, or reflectingly spoken of Mons. Tavernier, since his intention was to inform the reader of the truth, and not to carp and find fault with others. This letter was dated Fort St. George, 1685–6, when he was "on a voyage to China." The work is dedicated to William Gyfford, Esq., President of Coast Cormandell, Bengall, &c., and Governor of Fort St. George; and in a letter also prefacing his account of Tonquin, and addressed to Gyfford, bearing the date Fort St. George, August 25, 1685, he says that William Gyfford was the first Englishman to enter Tonquin, and to open a trade, and settle a factory for the Honourable Company. We have thus a further verification of Sir Henry Yule's account of William Gyfford. Hedge's Diary, vol. ii. p. clxxxv.

Barron afterwards left the Company's service, probably in 1685, as Sir Henry Yule (*l.c.*, p. clxxxvii.) quotes an extract from a letter from the Court to Fort St. George, 9th June, 1686, in which he is spoken of as a "deserter."

in the India Office,[1] written by the Bishop of Metellopolis to the English Company at Siam, dated Syam $\frac{10}{20}$ M^{r} 1684, asking for a passage to China for two or three of his clergy, a request which was granted, although the accommodation in the ship was very limited.

Mr. Richard Burneby, governor of Mergui, and Mr. Samuel White, *Shāhbandar* of Mergui and Tenasserim, proceeded overland to their respective appointments without any loss of time, as by the 27th December, 1683 they were corresponding with the President and Council at Fort St. George, to whom they wrote that they had sent a person, who was in irons, on board Captain James Cooke's vessel, the *Golden Fleece.* He, however, escaped ashore, but being again captured, was confined in the fort, to be sent home on the *Rochester*, as that vessel wanted men.

The King's Indian factor, the little Lord Ivatt, manifested equal alacrity with Burneby and White in entering upon the duties of his office. In July, 1684, he was at Madras, busy at work shipping goods for his Majesty of Siam, and as some of the King's property was destined in the first instance for Masulipatam, Ivatt applied to the Madras Council for permission to ship it in one of their vessels. The Council not only granted this request, but allowed all the goods to be carried free of freight; they having also made three months previously a reduction to the King of two per cent. on the sea-customs.[2] A month later he asked the favour of a passage to Masulipatam for himself and the king's servants. This was sanctioned, and to some of the black servants a small "Pishcash" was granted, which the Council was advised "would be well resented." A salute was also fired on the departure of the factor and his coadjutors.

The President and Council at Madras, in obliging the King and his factor, and paying these honours to the

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., China, vol. xvi.

[2] Diary and Consultation Book, Fort St. George, 18th January, 1684, to 26th January, 1685. Meeting 14th April, 1684.

latter, had been led to do so by interested motives, as in the Records of Fort St. George (14th March 1684) it is stated "the Council had a design to establish a factory at Siam." They were, however, not well acquainted with the recent condition of the factory, as, after the loss of Bantam, the factory at Ayuthia was practically under Surat, and continued so till 1685, when an order came from London, dated 11th July, 1684, signifying the wish of the Company that the China trade and all the Southern Seas should be placed under the presidency of Fort St. George.

Although the factory at Ayuthia had been so recently closed, the President and Council at Surat resolved early in 1685 to reopen it, and to send the ship *Falcon* to Siam, and they communicated their decision[1] to the Court of Directors in London on the 21st April, 1685, in the following words: "To Siam the ship Falcon is bound, may sail hence the beginning next month at farthest, on her goes from stock of your Honours, but will chiefly be laden with freight goods," as they had none of Mr. Strangh's pride. Their design was, they said, "to settle there, which we have great hopes of, and is highly necessary, if only to prevent interlopers, who may there have any Indian commodities for 25 per cent. more than cost here, and at the coast, &c. To settle at Siam goes Mr. Harbin, Mr. Dan^ll Gyfford,[2] and Mr. Thomas Yale. The ship is ordered to be early back with us, to be dispatched hence in January for England."[3]

Ayuthia at this time seems to have had an attraction to others besides the Company, as we find James Wheeler, who was in charge of their affairs at Pettipolli, writing from

[1] Fort St. George to Surat, 17th November, 1685.

[2] Mr. Daniel Gyfford was brother of the President at Fort St. George, and was accompanied by his wife. There were two brothers Gyfford in the east at this time—William, the President of Fort St. George, who was succeeded by Elihu Yale, and Daniel, who went to Ayuthia. Their brother Philip, who had been deputy-governor of Bombay, died in 1676.

[3] The Records in the India Office are very imperfect for the year 1685, and indeed for the remaining years of the century.

Fort St. George to the Directors in London, on the 20th June, 1685, informing them that he had resigned their service, and invested his small fortune for Siam, whither he was bound. He did not, however, remain long at Ayuthia, as he wrote to the Company, on the 5th December, 1685, that he was "speedily returning to Fort St. George. p. way of Tenassary."

This revived interest on the Coromandel Coast in the trade of Siam is probably to be explained by the considerable traffic then existing between Masulipatam and Mergui, and by the presence at Madras, in the beginning of 1685, of the Persian ambassador to Siam, and by the news carried to Masulipatam by M. de Carpon that Louis XIV. had sent a magnificently appointed embassy to the King. But doubtless the greatest stimulus to trade was the arrival of the Siamese ambassador to the President and Council of Fort St. George, asking them to re-engage in the trade of the kingdom of his royal master, and offering them great privileges.

Sir John Child, the President at Surat, sent his servants to Ayuthia armed with letters both to the King of Siam and to the "Barkalone." In his letter to his Highness "ye 'Barkalone' Chiefe Minister of State to ye greate and Glorious King of Siam," &c., he expressed much concern at the unhappy misunderstanding between the "Barkalone" and his people who had been lately at Ayuthia, and assured him that their behaviour and services had been in no way acceptable, more especially as they had left the port contrary to their orders. He now hoped that the new factors he was sending would behave themselves to his full content. Sir John in his letter, "To ye most Illustrious, renowned, Generous, and truely Glorious ever Good, greate, and mighty King of Siam," asked permission to make a settlement as formerly at the city of Siam, "with the same privileges he then enjoyed, and with assurances of not being disturbed or abused in our persons or estates from the actions of any Englishmen or ships

not in our service." In writing to the Company in London, the President and Council at Surat defended their action in re-establishing a factory at Ayuthia on the necessity that existed to put a stop to interlopers, an object which they held could only be attained by establishing a settlement. Some defence of the measure was necessary, as it was in direct opposition to the Directors' positive orders, issued to them in 1683, that the factory should be dissolved.

When the President and Council at Madras became aware of Sir John's proposed mission, they addressed a remonstrance to him, on the 11th June, 1685, stating that they considered it most proper that they themselves should send a chief from Madras, and they had a powerful reason in support of this view of the question, as the King of Siam, since the action of Sir John Child had been taken, had sent an ambassador, as has already been stated, to treat for a settlement at Ayuthia, as Fort St. George would afford easier and more frequent opportunities of correspondence than Surat, and, moreover, the King of Siam looked to Fort St. George for assistance in the considerable trade he had with the Madras coast. They hoped, however, that as the Surat mission had gone, that it had been effectually settled, as the Ayuthia market was an important one for pepper and for the sale of European goods, and because it would lead to a trade with Japan and China, and would contribute to put an end to interlopers going that way.

The *Falcon*, with Mr. Robert Harbin and his colleagues, arrived at Bangkok apparently in September 1685, as his book of expenses at the capital began in that month. Little, however, has been recorded regarding any negotiations which these Englishmen may have entered into with the Siamese Government for the opening up of new trading relations, and this circumstance has only one explanation, *viz.*, that, a few days either before or after they had reached the capital, two French men-of-war anchored in the river,

bringing an ambassador to the court of Siam from Louis XIV. In the pomp and glitter of this splendid embassy the humble English mission and its aims were unworthy of consideration.

But before proceeding further with this account of English intercourse with Siam, it is necessary, in order to understand the events that subsequently occurred in that kingdom, to glance at the introduction of French influence into the country, which will, therefore, be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

DAWN OF FRENCH TRADE IN THE EAST.

THE first attempts of the French to open up trade with the East began in the year 1503, when two small vessels set sail from Havre, but were never again heard of.

An effort was made once more in 1538, and still another in 1548, but both were unsuccessful.

The great profits, however, reaped by the Dutch in their trading transactions with the East Indies stimulated the French, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to found a company to develop a trade with Sumatra, Java, Moluccas, and the East Indies generally, but it proved a failure. Another attempt was made in 1604, and in that year Henry IV.[1] granted a charter to "La Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales," giving to it the exclusive trade of the East for upwards of fifteen years; but this company also came to nought. An effort to resuscitate it was made in 1611, but without success. However, in 1615, two ships sailed for the East, but, although only one returned, the voyage had proved so remunerative that another fleet of three ships left the shores of France in October, 1619. One of these vessels was lost, but the others arrived at Havre in December, 1620, with a cargo to the value of £160,000.

The rights of the original company having lapsed in 1642, Richelieu granted a charter to a new company, but

[1] In C. B. Norman's "Colonial France," 1886, p. 75, it is stated that in 1604 Richelieu granted the charter under royal patent; but in that year Richelieu was then only nineteen years of age, and studying for the Church. He was not made Secretary of State to Louis XIII. until November, 1616.

the efforts of this corporation did not extend beyond Madagascar, where they built a fort.

Colbert, who had determined to uphold the dignity and high position attained by France among the nations of Europe, granted a charter in 1664 to a new company, also bearing the same name as the previous one, and in 1668 the French had established themselves at Surat. Siam, however, was still far beyond their range in trading—an employment in which they have not distinguished themselves as pioneers. Their ecclesiastics, however, began to appear in force in the capital of Siam about sixty years after the arrival of the servants of the East India Company. This movement seems to have been the result of a visit to Europe of Père Alexandre de Rhodes, who had long laboured in Tonquin, and who, during his return to his native land, so successfully advocated the claims of missions, that no less than three bishops followed each other to the East in rapid succession.

The first to depart on this self-sacrificing errand was Mgr. de la Mothe Lambert, Bishop of Bérythe,[1] who, with his valet, was accompanied by M. de Bourges, the narrator of the Bishop's journey, and M. Deydier. They set out from Marseilles on the 27th November, 1660. The vessel touched at Malta and Cyprus, and then proceeded to Alexandretta, off which port it arrived on the 11th January, 1661. Leaving the ship, they proceeded by Beilan and Antioch to Aleppo, where they halted on the

[1] Additional MSS. British Museum. Voiages de Monseigr. L'Euesque d'heliopolis; section.—Suitte des voyages de Mgr. Bérythe et de ses Missionaires.

Relation du Voyage de Mgr. l'Eveque de Beryte, Vicaire Apostolique du Royaume de la Cochinchine, par M. de Bourges, Prétre, Missionaire Apostolique. Paris, 1666. The 3rd edit., Paris, 1683, contains, besides the foregoing, the following account:—Relation Abrege'e des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques François, envoyez aux Royaumes de la Chine, Cochinchine, Tonquin and Siam, par Messire Francois Pallu, Evesque d'Heliopolis, Paris, 1682. Relation des Missions des Evesques François aux Royaumes de Siam, de la Cochinchine, de Camboye, et du Tonquin, &c., Divisé'e en Quatre Parties. Paris, 1684. Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques Vicaires Apostoliques, et de leurs Ecclesiastiques és Années 1672–1675. The same, 1676–1677.

21st of the same month, but left again on the 3rd February, in the company of a caravan for Bagdad. They then travelled to a place called Dert on the Euphrates, apparently between Ankah and Anah, and there crossed the river, on the 15th February. Their road then lay to Bagdad, which they reached on the 4th March; but, as the gates were closed, they slept in the open under a clear moon on the banks of the Tigris. On the 16th of the same month they set out for Basra, and on the 30th entered that port. As the season was now too far advanced, on account of the change of the monsoon, for them to leave for Surat, they resolved to proceed to Ispahan, and to wait there until the following October. When the time for their departure from Ispahan arrived, they left the city along with the East India Company's agent, and proceeded by Shiraz to Gombroon (Bandar' Abbās), in the Straits of Ormuz, where they arrived on the 30th October, and put up at the English factory. They then embarked with the agent on board an English vessel for Surat, and reached Süali (Swally), the roadstead to the north of the mouth of the Tapti, and there disembarking, proceeded overland to Surat, a distance of four or five days' journey.

They departed from Surat on the 21st January, 1662, and travelled overland for forty-one days to Masulipatam, which they entered on the 6th March. They then embarked in a Moorish vessel for Tenasserim, on the 26th of the same month, and on the 28th April anchored in the harbour of Mergui. On arriving, the vessel was boarded by the custom-house officials, who drew up a report on the passengers and merchandise, and forwarded it to the governor at Tenasserim, who issued the passports, without which no passenger was allowed to land, and whatever other orders were necessary, deciding whether the passengers and merchandise should be landed in small boats at Mergui, or be sent up to Tenasserim. The Bishop and his party proceeded in the ship to Tenasserim, where a

Portuguese priest,[1] Jean Cordoza Gama, hearing of their arrival, on the 19th May, sent a small boat to take them off the vessel, and received them into his own house.

On the following day their baggage was examined by the custom-house officials, who passed it all with the exception of a small chaplet of red-painted horn, which they mistook for coral.

Having been previously supplied with passports, for each of which they had paid ten crowns, they left Tenasserim for "*Joudia*" (Ayuthia) on the 30th June, in three small *dug-outs*, each manned by three men, and covered with palm-leaves as a protection from the rains and sun. For each boat they also paid ten crowns. The boats were to take them as far as Jelinga; but the one in which the Bishop travelled was swamped in a rapid part of the river by a snag, and in this catastrophe they lost their passports, and one of their number had consequently to return to Tenasserim to get them replaced. This so delayed them that they did not reach Jelinga until the 6th July. M. de Bourges describes the country through which the Tenasserim river flowed as infested with tigers, crocodiles, and other carnivorous animals, to such an extent that they were forced to cook, eat, and sleep in their boats.

Jelinga, says the historian of the voyage, is a village in a small fertile and pleasant valley. Here they remained for three weeks in huts which they built, employing the time in repairing the losses of their shipwreck. They hired carts, and once more set out on their journey, on the 27th July. On the 3rd August, they came to the village of Menam, and leaving it, they made a descent for half a day to a pleasant country, and in six days arrived at Couir, a village of 200 houses surrounded by a wooden wall or stockade, and in ten days more they reached

[1] According to Crawford, the Portuguese Viceroy sent a mission to Siam in 1621, and in the same year Dominican and Franciscan monks found their way into the kingdom. Crawford's Embassy to Siam, vol. ii. p. 142.

Pram, situated on a large river near the sea. They had still a journey of five marches before they reached Phiphri, a considerable town with brick walls, situated on a large river. They arrived there on the 13th August, and immediately afterwards erected an altar to the "Glorious Virgin" and said mass. On the following day they hired boats to take them to Ayuthia. They descended the river for one day to the sea, and then sailed along the coast for twenty-four hours, to the mouth of the Menam. They took five to six days to ascend the river to the capital, which they reached on the 22nd August, 1662. In their journey up the Menam, they suffered extremely from "certaines petites moûches fort piquantes, qui paroissent aussi-tost que le soleil est couché,"[1] mosquito-curtains being doubtless a luxury the travellers did not possess.

On his arrival, the Bishop found two churches, one belonging to the Dominican fathers, and the other to the Jesuits.[2]

He visited the chief of the Portuguese settlement, who received him with great politeness and many evidences of esteem and respect, and procured a house for him near to his own, and informed all the clergy and others of his arrival. After having gone forty days into retreat, Monsigneur de Bérythe commenced to frequent the Portuguese camp,[3] in order to perfect himself in the language, but learned to his great disappointment that the Portuguese regarded him and his companions as impostors, shielding evil designs under the garb of religion. After explaining to the Grand Vicar of Goa, who happened to be at Ayuthia at the time, his relations to the Holy See, and the Vicar failing to overcome the prejudice that existed

[1] Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur De Beryte, Vicaire Apostolique, &c., 1683, 3me ed., p. 96.

[2] Relation des Missions des Evesques François aux Roy de Siam, &c. Paris, 1674, p. 4.

[3] In those days, the quarters in and about the city in which the various nationalities resided each by itself, were known as camps.

against him and his missionaries, he removed from the camp of the Portuguese, and took up his residence in the Dutch quarters, and applied himself to the study of Chinese and Cochin-Chinese, under two Christians of those nationalities.

Amidst the difficulties that beset him in his self-sacrificing mission, he was much consoled by the intercourse he held, through interpreters, with a number of Japanese Christians occupying a camp of their own, and who had taken refuge in Siam in consequence of the fierce persecution of Christianity in their own country.[1] They were doubtless fugitives from the severe measures taken by the Shogun Iyémitsu (1623–50) to stamp out the Christian religion in Japan.

Under these French missionaries, Christianity, originally introduced by the Portuguese, received a fresh impulse, and after one year's sojourn in Ayuthia, Mgr. de Bérythe, accompanied by some of his assistants, departed for China in a vessel bound for Canton. They were, however, overtaken by a typhoon, and after a miraculous escape, having apparently been driven ashore, they had no alternative left them but to return by a toilsome overland journey to Ayuthia. On his arrival, the Bishop, for his safety, and to instruct his friends the Cochin-Chinese, took up his residence in their quarters. As the Portuguese, however, continued to spread evil reports about the French priests, and even openly to insult them, the Cochin-Chinese menaced their slanderers, and threatened to burn their camp to avenge their friends, the French.

The enmity of the Portuguese having become unbearable, Mgr. de Bérythe at last determined to send M. de Bourges as an envoy to the Holy Father to explain his position, and the attitude assumed by the Portuguese priests. The envoy started from Ayuthia on the 14th October, 1663,[2] in a ship bound for Masulipatam, where he arrived on

[1] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, t. ii. p. 109.
[2] Relation du Voy. de Mgr. de Beryte, 1683, p. 151.

the 16th January, 1664, and afterwards continued his voyage by sea to London.[1]

The second Bishop to leave France for the East was Mgr. Cotolendy, Bishop of Metellopolis. He left Europe in 1661, and followed in the footsteps of Bishop de Bérythe, but travelled much quicker, as he arrived on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in seven or eight months.[2] When M. de Bourges reached Masulipatam, among the first news that met him was the sad tidings of the death of this Bishop at Palacol,[3] on the 16th August, 1662, in the thirty-first year of his age. The third bishop had also arrived in India, and left it for Siam before M. de Bourges made his second appearance at Masulipatam.

This dignitary was Francis Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, who had left France on the 12th January, 1662. He also had followed much the same route as the two previous bishops, and when he arrived at Masulipatam, he likewise, according to M. de Bourges, had learned of the death of his brother bishop; and becoming aware that he was buried at Palacol, he had, with the sanction of the Dutch, the body of the Bishop disinterred and laid in a church at Masulipatam, to await an opportunity of taking it to a Catholic town.[4]

The Bishop of Heliopolis had long been anxiously expected, not only in Siam, but also in India, and in the Records of the English factory at Masulipatam, preserved in the India Office, there is a letter written in the year 1663 which says: "The Bishop, when he arrives, shall find the respect from us becoming his function, which we are obliged to honour, and the more of your recommendation to us, and shall not only afford him a letter, but forward him on his way to Siam." He was accompanied by six missionaries and a country gentleman of great piety, called M. de Foissy de Chamesson, but four of

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

2 Relation Abregée, &c., 1682, &c., p. 153.

3 Rel. du Voy. de Mgr. de Beryte, p. 4.

4 *Ibid.*

them died from the fatigues of the journey, only MM. Lanneau and Chamesson remaining in the suite of the Bishop, who, however, found M. Chevreuil at Surat, where he had been left behind by the Bishop of Metellopolis on account of sickness. With this feeble staff of three missionaries he left Masulipatam for Tenasserim, and crossing in the track of Mgr. de Bérythe, reached Ayuthia on the 27th January, 1664.

The attention of all the missionary priests at Ayuthia was not wholly absorbed in religious matters, as we read that Father Thomas, a Neapolitan by birth, made himself very useful to the Siamese, as by 1665 the "town and the King's palace" had been fortified by the erection of "very good Bullwarks, according to Art," designed by him, and erected, doubtless, under his direction and supervision. As a recompense for his labours, the King gave him leave to live in the city, where he had a house and a little church, a privilege but rarely granted to a foreigner.

After a short conference, they found that the capital of Siam was an admirable centre for missionary enterprise, and that for this reason, and its importance as a city, it was desirable that the Vicar-Apostolic for the country and town of Siam should be made chief, and should have the general direction of all the missions. They also arrived at the conclusion that it was desirable to establish a general seminary for learning the languages of the surrounding nations, Ayuthia offering exceptional advantages for so doing, as Asiatic nations were well represented in it, and, moreover, each had its own quarter allotted to it. In this seminary they professed to rear catechists, and to prepare for the priesthood those who were judged most worthy. These and other considerations, and many details of management arising out of them, were considered of so much importance, that it was resolved to send the Bishop of Heliopolis to Rome to lay their suggestions before his Holiness. Mgr. Pallu accordingly set out on

his long journey to Europe on the 17th January, 1665.[1] As the first three weeks or so of his journey were by land to the Bay of Bengal, Mergui, in all likelihood, was the port at which he embarked for Masulipatam, where he arrived in less than a month from the day he sailed. He resided at Masulipatam for ten months, in the expectation of finding a vessel that would take him direct to Europe; but in vain, as not a single ship left the port, by reason of the war then existing between the English and the Dutch. Having only one alternative course to follow, he resolved once more to cross India, doubtless to Surat, and embarking in a ship, he went to Congo, a port on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, about 100 miles west of Gombroon, and thence to Basra. He then proceeded to Mosul, Ufrah, and Alexandretta, and sailed from the latter town to Livorno, where he arrived on the 27th March, 1666.[2]

About the time of the departure of Mgr. Pallu, the French missionaries had their first interview with the King, Phra-narai, who ruled over Siam from 1657 until 1687. They, however, could only be admitted to the royal presence by undergoing the humiliating ordeal of divesting themselves of their shoes; and after they had entered the reception-hall, the Buddhist king asked them among other questions, whether they thought the religion they had come to preach was better than that professed by his subjects. This was a splendid opportunity for the Jesuits, who at once embraced it, as Heaven-sent, in order that they might explain to his Majesty the principal truths of Christianity; and from this interview and onwards they strove for the conversion of the King. They next took advantage of the offers he had made to them, and asked for a piece of ground on which to build a house, which was granted in a liberal spirit. Here they erected a chapel and ample accommodation for themselves, and enclosed a portion for a cemetery. The piece of ground,

[1] Relation Abregée, &c., p. 18. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

called in Portuguese fashion the camp, was named after St. Joseph, who was chosen as protector and patron of the mission. This was the first establishment of the kind made by French missionaries in the East Indies.

In the year 1668, the joyful anticipations in which the French priests had been led to indulge of the possible conversion of the King to Christianity received a rude shock, when in this year the followers of another faith, *viz.*, that of Mohammed, appeared on the scene, and solicited his Majesty to become a follower of the Prophet.[1] The two Oriental states which advocated the claims of Mohammedanism at the Siamese court were Acheen and Golconda, to both of which Siam was well known by its trade, and in the case of the latter, still more so, by the presence of the agent of the King, who represented his master's interest at the chief port. The Golconda envoy, having landed at Mèrgui, necessarily crossed from thence to Ayuthia. One of the Siamese ministers afterwards rallying him on the small extent of his master's dominions in comparison to those of the great King of Siam, the Indian ambassador replied, "that it was true his master's dominions were small, but they were inhabited by human beings; whereas the territories of his Siamese Majesty were for the most part peopled by monkeys."[2]

The ambassadors from these two states were received with great magnificence, and in view of this, the French missionaries dreaded that the high estimation in which Mohammedans were held in Siam, their riches, and the public services they had rendered to the country, might all contribute to lead the King to accept that religion in preference to Christianity.

In February, 1669, M. de Bourges returned to Siam from his mission to the Pope, after a most adventurous voyage, accompanied by six other priests.[3] By a new Bull,

[1] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, tome ii. p. 136.
[2] Crawford's Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China, vol. ii. p. 225, 226.
Rel. des Missions, &c., Paris, 1674, pp. 19–24. Pallegoix, t. ii. p. 136.

his Holiness Pope Clement IX. placed Siam and some neighbouring states under the jurisdiction of the head of the Church at Ayuthia, and conferred on them liberty to exercise their functions and to establish missions in all the Indies, with the exception of the dependencies of Spain and Portugal,[1] thus unequivocally recognising French clerical supremacy in Siam,—a step which stirred the rulers of France to still more ambitious projects in their relations with that kingdom. M. Lanneau was afterwards (1674) consecrated Bishop of Metellopolis to exercise these responsible functions.

In 1670, the seminary at Ayuthia was fully established, and was attended by about a hundred pupils, speaking diverse languages. Siamese youths were being prepared for orders, and a female community known as the "Votaries of the Cross" was established by Mgr. de Bérythe. The onslaught on the religion of Gaudama by the Church of Rome was still more vigorously pursued, a mission being founded at Phitsilok, a densely populated town distant about sixty miles from the royal city.

No means of gaining adherents to the Church of Rome were neglected. The sick and dying were visited, moribund infants were rescued, and in many instances kept in life, while those who were already in the grasp of death were baptized and enrolled among the redeemed. The efforts of these indefatigable votaries of the Church were carried even still further, as they visited the prisoners in the public gaols, immured in fetid and stifling cells. Such unsparing and unselfish zeal for the advancement of the Church, in an enervating tropical climate, soon told on the health of the missionaries, and three consequently broke down under the unwonted strain on their energies.

Mgr. Heliopolis returned to Ayuthia on the 27th May, 1673, from his mission to the Pope and to Louis XIV., bringing with him letters and rich presents from these

[1] Pallegoix, tome ii. p. 139.

exalted princes. His journey from the West had been far from uneventful. He left France on 11th April, 1670, accompanied by six missionaries and by three or four laymen, in three ships of the Royal French Company, and arrived at Surat on the 3rd September, 1671. After a residence there of nearly five months, the Bishop departed for Siam, on the 17th February, 1672, in a vessel of the French Company, and arrived at Bantam on the 30th April. The season being now, however, too far advanced to admit of the ship proceeding up the Gulf of Siam, he resolved to return to the Coromandel Coast, and finding a vessel belonging to the agent of the East India Company at Masulipatam, he embarked on it, on the 29th June, leaving behind him all the heavy baggage, including the rich presents from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam, under charge of some of the clergy he had brought from France. The captain of the vessel, by strong currents and unfavourable weather, was driven to make for Balasor, which they reached after having been more than fifty days at sea. He remained in Bengal for six months, and sailed on the 8th March for Mergui in a ship belonging to the King of Siam, and arrived at that port on the 27th of the same month.[1]

On landing, the Bishop and his suite were greeted by a Portuguese priest, M. Perez, who had just arrived from the island of Junk-Ceylon, where he had been sent two years before on an evangelizing mission by Mgr. de Bérythe, who had now recalled him to aid the enfeebled ranks of the mission at the capital. The Bishop at Ayuthia had been anxiously awaiting the arrival of Mgr. Heliopolis, and in October, 1672, had sent M. Vachet and a Tonquinese catechist to Mergui to await his advent and conduct him to Ayuthia. M. Vachet's services were very acceptable to Mgr. Heliopolis, as his party was now a considerable one, and included, besides his own suite, M. Perez and his servants, and two Frenchmen, who had recently arrived

[1] Rel. des Missions, &c., Paris, 1682, p. 106.

from Masulipatam, seemingly destitute of everything except the clothes on their backs, and whose names he did not know, but one of whom was a very good surgeon. But his party or "family," as it is designated, also included a number of youthful members. These were six young Bengali children, doubtless waifs picked up by the humane Bishop during his residence at Balasor, and adopted by him as lambs for his fold. The party thus constituted numbered twenty persons, and when all their arrangements had been made, they set out on the overland journey on the 28th April, and arrived at Ayuthia on the 27th of the following month, as has already been stated. If the journey were so difficult and hazardous as it has been painted in the account of Mgr. de Bérythe's journey, it seems unlikely that Mgr. Heliopolis, who had already twice traversed it, would have brought away these tender children from Bengal to expose them to its hardships and dangers. The reiterated use of this route by the clergy and others at this time, and in after years, renders it probable that the first picture drawn of its dangers, difficulties, and discomforts, by the priests who traversed the peninsula in 1662, was overdrawn.

On the arrival of Mgr. Heliopolis, the King wished to confer on him the honour of a public reception, but the dignitaries of the Church declined it, as the humiliating conditions of appearing in their stocking-soles and of prostrating themselves before his Majesty were still to be enforced. Every argument was doubtless used to induce them to conform to the etiquette of the court, but they properly refused to do so, and their determination had its reward, as, in declining the interview, the King was denied the gratification of learning the contents of the letters that had been sent to him by his two distinguished correspondents, and his curiosity proving stronger than his respect for court etiquette, he at last acceded to their terms, which were that they should be received in the same manner in which ambassadors in Europe were presented

to the monarchs to whom they were accredited. They were accordingly received by the King, on the 18th October, 1673. The Bishops and those who accompanied them, to the amazement and no small disgust of the attendant mandarins, seated themselves in the audience hall, and instead of prostrating themselves, according to the ancient custom of the court, merely bowed, without rising, to the monarch as he entered. At this interview the historical letters from Pope Clement IX. and Louis XIV. were read;[1] and a few days later, the Bishops were informed that the King intended to send ambassadors to Europe, and they were summoned to Louvo, the hunting-seat of the King, and conducted there in great state in a royal barge.[2] The result of this reception was very gratifying to the Bishops, as the King gave them a further grant of land for their mission, and declared his intention to build a magnificent Christian church. In view of such bright prospects Mgr. Lanneau, Bishop of Metellopolis elect, took immediate steps to strengthen his already enfeebled staff of missionaries. M. de Foissy de Chamesson was sent to Europe to enlist more workers and to carry a letter from the King of Siam to Louis XIV. This layman left Ayuthia in the beginning of October, 1673, four months after the arrival of the Bishop of Heliopolis, and proceeded overland with two servants to Tenasserim, and thence to Mergui. He prolonged his stay at the latter town until the 15th March, 1674, when he embarked on a vessel belonging to the King of Siam for Masulipatam, where he arrived on the 15th April, but unfortunately in a time of danger, as the King of Golconda was much irritated by the capture of St. Thomé by the French, under M. de la Haye. His mission ended in India, for he was seized and carried to Golconda, where he was thrown into prison, ultimately to die, when released, from the barbarous treatment he had heroically endured during his confinement.[3]

[1] Pallegoix, t. ii. pp. 149–152.

[2] Rel. des Missions, &c., Paris, 1682, p. 121.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 192–212.

Another priest, M. Bonchard, who had also been sent to Manilla on a similar recruiting errand, had no sooner put foot on that island than he had been seized by the Spaniards as a spy and imprisoned; but being able to clear himself of the false charge, he was liberated, and returned to Ayuthia with one recruit. And about this time, also, the Church at the capital of Siam was strengthened by the return of M. de Chaudebois, who had gone for the restoration of his shattered health to the mineral waters of Rajapur,[1] which had cured the dropsy from which he had suffered. He, however, did not return single-handed, but came back to his post accompanied by a brother worker, a Jacobin priest who had gained much experience of missionary work in various parts of the kingdom. The indomitable devotion and enthusiasm of these good men in the propagation of a faith in the truth of which they had a supreme belief cannot but excite the highest admiration of all sincere minds; and, as a Regent of Siam has said, "Siam has not been disciplined by English and French guns, like China, but the country has been opened by missionaries;"[2] in the first instance by the Portuguese and French, and in after years by the Protestant missions of America and England.

In 1674, the French missionaries were put in possession of the land promised by the King, and on it they built a church and house, and constituted the place a parish, calling it the Immaculate Conception. The selection of this name for use in a country the inhabitants of which believed in the miraculous birth of the founder of their own religion, has the semblance of having been the outcome of clerical diplomacy.

As the King, at this time, had given his subjects perfect

[1] This was probably Raxaburi, on the left bank of the stream which flows from the north and debouches at Meklong. Dr. Richardson, while at Kamburi (Journ. As. Soc. Ben., vols. viii. and ix., 1839-40), was pressed to go to Bangkok *via* Raxaburi, but he makes no mention of mineral springs.

[2] "Siam and Laos as seen by our American Missionaries." Philadelphia.

liberty to embrace Christianity, if they chose, the number of converts, we are told, largely increased. The presents, however, that had been left behind at Bantam by the Bishop of Heliopolis, having not yet arrived, the Vicars-Apostolic were afraid that if they did not soon reach Ayuthia, the King might be mercenary enough to relent of the favours he had shown to their Church, and withdraw the liberty he had granted his subjects. They therefore explained to the chief Minister of State that the presents had been delayed on account of the danger there would be in bringing them in a French ship. A junk was accordingly sent to fetch them; but the Dutch, who had doubtless been aware of the presence of the treasures at Bantam, allowed the junk to leave the port, but afterwards captured it and all its wealth. The Vicars-Apostolic had, however, formed a wrong estimate of the King's character, as the non-arrival of the gifts from Louis XIV. does not appear to have led to any alteration in his conduct towards them, and their Church.

The Bishop of Heliopolis himself departed from Ayuthia, to assist at Tonquin, towards the end of August, 1674, but his vessel was caught in a typhoon and driven on to the Philippine Islands. He was made a prisoner and confined at Manilla, where he so remained until the beginning of 1675, when he was sent to Spain; not, however, by his old route across India and Persia, or by the Cape of Good Hope, but in a vessel which sailed, on the 1st June, 1675, away to the east, to the port of Acapulco, on the western coast of Mexico, where he arrived on the 17th January, 1676.[1] After a detention there of more than three months, he was sent across Mexico to Vera Cruz, whence he embarked in the fleet for Spain on the 29th June, and arrived in the Bay of Calais on the 21st November, 1676, and some time afterwards he proceeded to Paris.

Another influx of missionaries into Siam took place in 1676, as in that year MM. Thomas, De Clergues, Geffard,

[1] Relation des Missions et des Voyages des Evesques. Paris, 1682, p. 361.

and Le Noir, who had come overland to the Persian Gulf, and thence by sea to Surat, and afterwards to Masulipatam, left the latter port for Mergui on the 17th April, and on the 13th of the following month arrived there, about one month after the return of Mgr. de Bérythe from a visit he had made to Cochin-China. These missionaries have placed on record their impressions of the route from Tenasserim to Ayuthia. They left the former town on the last day of May in boats for Zingale (Jelinga), and their account of the river is that they found it very rapid and dangerous by means of its depth and the number of small rocks in its bed. They took six days to go to Jelinga, and they describe the river as flowing through a dense forest, so infested with tigers and elephants that they could not leave their boats, which they had to anchor at night for safety in the middle of the stream. By day they were delighted with the number of pea-fowl and jungle-fowl that were to be seen, and were amused with the troops of monkeys that disported themselves among the trees overhanging the river. Arrived at Jelinga, they took bullock-carts for Phiphri, but when they had reached Couli (Kĭu), they discarded them, as they found there a boat that was going to Siam. By the time they left Jelinga the rains had begun, and they consequently found the roads very bad in some places, and travelling in the carts very fatiguing; but they say that, notwithstanding, the route between these two places was agreeable enough when the rain for the time being ceased, as the way lay through forests in which they were constantly meeting with many species of birds quite new to them, and with deer and wild pigs. Tigers, elephants, and rhinoceroses so abounded that it was dangerous to wander aside from the road. From Kĭu they went direct by sea to Ayuthia, which they reached in four days. They, however, do not state how long they took to go from Jelinga to Kĭu.

In 1677, two other missionaries arrived in the company of M. Cherboneau, the first medical missionary to Siam,

and who was at once employed in a hospital established by the King; but he was not to be allowed long to practice the healing art in the service of the Church, as, after a short residence at Ayuthia, he was offered the governorship of the island of Junk-Ceylon, which, it is said, he only accepted when he was told that the King of Siam "absolutely required it." How far this appointment had been brought about by the influence of the Vicars-Apostolic is unknown, but, in the light of after events, it seems even more than probable that it had been made at their suggestion, and that this was the first active or overt step taken by them to forward French influence in the kingdom to the detriment of other nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, who had been in the country long before them, and who had materially contributed to promote its commercial prosperity. Being in no way an appointment connected with the Church, it can only be regarded as the beginning of the great effort made by the Jesuits, later on, to obtain for their nation supreme political supremacy over Siam. M. Cherboneau held the appointment of Governor for three or four years, and was succeeded by another of his countrymen, M. Billi.[1]

The Church at Ayuthia was destined, in 1679, to suffer a very great loss, as the worthy Bishop de Bérythe died. His obsequies were attended by the leaders of the following nations, then represented at the capital, *viz.*, French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Japanese, Armenians, and Moors, the Siamese themselves being present in great numbers.

That French influence was to be confined to spiritual matters, was not to be expected from a nation under the guidance of two such master-minds and ambitious men as Louis XIV. and Colbert. Consequently there arrived at Ayuthia, in 1680, a vessel with a number of officers to establish a factory for the "Compagnie Royale." They were favourably received by the King, who, with his usual astuteness, saw in them an opportunity and means of

[1] De la Loubère, p. 91.

making the Dutch, who were then a terror to him and to other native princes, more humble and tractable. He therefore favoured the establishment of the French factory, and accorded to the Company great privileges.

In the same year, a mandarin of the first and two of the second order were sent on an embassy to France accompanied by a numerous suite, bearing rich and rare presents, among which were elephants, young rhinoceroses, &c., and carrying a letter to the King of France, engraved on a sheet of gold, offering him the island of Singora; the object of the Siamese ruler being to counteract the power of the Dutch. The embassy had the services of M. Geaime, a French missionary, as interpreter, and it left Ayuthia on Christmas day, 1680.[1]

In a general letter from Bantam, dated 28th July, 1680, to the Court of Directors, London, it is stated that "an embassy was designed from the King of Siam to the French King;" and, in a paper preserved in the Record Office, London, there is an allusion to an embassy from Siam to France, about this time—doubtless this very mission. It says: "A great shipp not long since came from Surat with Commissioner Buereau who is now ready to depart for Europe, with an embassie from ye King of Syam to ye French King, and consisting of three ambassadors, and 30 followers. In presents they have 2 elephants besides many curiosities and varieties." As this embassy was never again heard of, it must have gone to the bottom of the sea.[2]

In the beginning of July, 1682, the Bishop of Heliopolis, after his shipwreck, imprisonment, and wide-world experiences of travel, returned once more to the field of his labours. He came as the bearer of a letter from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam, and of rich presents for his Majesty, who was highly elated that so powerful a monarch as the

[1] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, t. ii. 167.

[2] Bowring (Hist. of Siam, vol. i. p. 355) says that the ambassadors "were never heard of after they left Paknam;" but the above-quoted documents disprove this.

King of France should have again written to him. He gave orders, therefore, that the letter and gifts should be received at a special audience, and with the same state that had been accorded to the first letter, and the arrangements for the reception seem to have been intrusted to Constant Phaulkon.

While the circumstances attending this audience were still fresh in the memory of the European residents at the capital, the two Englishmen, Messrs. Strangh and Yale, arrived in an English vessel, and took up their residence in Ayuthia. They, however, unlike the diplomatic French priest, arrived at the royal city empty-handed, with no letter and with no presents; and, as if to emphasize the neglect of those who had sent them, they carried, as has been stated previously, a letter from King Charles II. to the Emperor of Japan, which his Siamese Majesty was to be asked to forward to its destination.

Towards the end of 1683, the King of Siam, being aware that his first embassy had not reached France, determined to send another to Louis XIV. The two Englishmen were in Siam when this happened, and it was perhaps due to their influence that one of the ambassadors, when he reached Europe, proceeded to London, and it is said concluded, in 1684, a treaty with Charles II.[1] If a treaty was ever ratified, it has not as yet been found in London, although a diligent search has been made for it in those offices where such a document would likely be preserved.

Two priests, MM. Vachet and Pascot, were appointed to accompany the ambassadors, and six Siamese youths were sent along with them to learn handicrafts.

The embassy[2] reached France safely, and was well

[1] Alexander Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 181. Hamilton says that on the strength of the treaty mentioned above, he went in 1719 to trade at Ayuthia; but on his arrival he found that another treaty had been concluded, the year before, by Collet, Governor of Fort St. George. This latter treaty, he says, was detrimental to all British subjects but to those who happened to be employed by Collet.

[2] Embassies were at this period the order of the day at Ayuthia, and, in the following year, the

received; and so gratified was Louis XIV. with this new mission and with the results achieved by the Vicars in Ayuthia, that he resolved to send an ambassador to the King of Siam, and selected M. le Chevalier de Chaumont to represent him, with a numerous suite, in which the clerical and Jesuit elements were powerfully represented, five of the latter being destined for China. This embassy[1] sailed in two French vessels of war, *La Maline* and *l'Oiseau*, in which M. Vachet and the Siamese mandarins who had accompanied him to Paris returned to Bangkok, where the embassy arrived on the 22nd September, 1685, having been received on their way up the river by the governor of that town, and by the governor of Phiphri.[2] The reception which this embassy met with at the hands of the King of Siam, the interest he manifested in the Christian religion, his having placed a crucifix in his chamber, and the Christian tone of his speeches, led the French ecclesiastics to entertain lively hopes of his conversion, which Louis XIV. had instructed his ambassador if possible to bring about, and had provided for, as the ambassador was accompanied by M. l'Abbé Choisy, who was to remain behind at the court of Siam until the baptism of the King, in the event of his conversion.[3]

The direct result of this embassy was the granting by

Siamese sent three great and three younger mandarins in the quality of ambassadors to the King of Portugal, in response to an embassy sent to Siam, in the person, it is said, of a very celebrated ambassador. This embassy first went to Goa, when, after a sojourn of eleven months, it proceeded on its way to Europe; but the vessel ran aground in a storm at the Cape of the Needles, near the Cape of Good Hope, on the 27th April, 1686. The embassy remained four months at the Cape, and then returned to Ayuthia *via* Batavia, where it remained six months, and arrived at the capital in the month of June, 1687, after having experienced several severe hardships.

[1] Relation de l'Ambassade de Mr. le Chevalier de Chaumont à la Cour du Roy de Siam. Paris, 1686. Tachard's Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites. Paris, 1686.

[2] De la Loubère says (p. 88) the Menam "from its Mouth to the *Metropolis* is divided into several small Governments. The first is *Pipeli* (Phiphri), the second *Prepadem*, the third *Bancock*, the fourth *Talaccan*, and the fifth *Siam*." When the first embassy from Louis XIV. went to Siam, it was met on its way up the river by "the Governors of Bancok and Pipely" (Chaumont's Relation de l'Ambassade, p. 39).

[3] Tachard's Voyage de Siam, &c. Paris, 1686, p. 23.

the King of a number of harmless concessions to the Siamese converts, but to which the French ecclesiastics attached considerable importance; so much so, that in Pallegoix's account they are spoken of under the collective name of a treaty. The terms of this document were ordered by the King to be published in all the towns of the kingdom. The various concessions granted were doubtless suggested by the French clergy, but the negotiations with the mandarins regarding them were intrusted to Constant Phaulkon, who brought to the cause of the Christians all the zeal and enthusiasm usually distinguishing new converts, he having only recently abjured Protestantism, in May, 1682, in favour of the faith of Rome.

The King's duties at this time were not light, as he had discreetly to distribute his favours among the European nations frequenting his capital, giving audience to all. A French author records, "Les nations Angloise et Hollandoise ont eu aujourd'hui audiance du Roi, qui leur a donné de belles vestes."[1]

At this time incessant difficulties were cropping up between the Siamese Government and the merchants of the various trading interests then represented at the capital, chiefly owing to the monopolies held by the King. This could not but happen, as the King himself was regarded as the chief trader of the kingdom, the details of buying and selling being in the hands of his regularly instituted agents. The keenest and most exacting traders at the capital were the Dutch, who at this time had widely, and apparently firmly, established themselves on the Malayan Peninsula, and had given their commercial relations a more extensive range than any of the other Powers, the English not excepted. They were, therefore, a thorn in the side of the King, as they had no scruples in exacting even from him, for their own benefit, terms highly detrimental to his monopolies. The English were

[1] Journal ou Suite du Voyage de Siam, par L. D. C. (Choisy), 1688, p. 238.

perhaps almost as dangerous and troublesome as the Dutch, but the influence of the Portuguese had long before begun to wane. Neither the Dutch nor English nations were known to the then reigning King of Siam, except by their traders, whereas the French had been introduced to him, in the first instance, in the persons of highly-accomplished and well-bred gentlemen, who had arrived in his country filled with the most benign intentions, and with a desire to improve his people intellectually, morally, and physically—intentions that could not but at once enlist the sympathy and the approval of so good a Buddhist as his Siamese Majesty. The presence in his city of these non-trading Frenchmen, wholly given up to religion, was to him a perfectly new experience, as hitherto the only attractions his capital, or indeed his kingdom, had possessed in the eyes of foreigners, were the supposed facilities it afforded of making money. The King was a thoughtful man, and, like not a few educated Buddhists, was also something of a philosopher, and wisely tolerant in such a purely speculative subject as religion. This attitude, on the part of the King, was a condition of mind which the French ecclesiastics had never anticipated to meet in the person of a monarch whom they regarded as a heathen, and their unpreparedness for it unfortunately led them into the error of mistaking it for a symptom of his conversion, whereas it was nothing more than a desire on his part to oblige and please the strangers, on a subject regarded by them as of the highest importance, but which he viewed from a different stand-point. Indeed, when the French ambassador pressed him to accept Christianity, he expressed his astonishment that his esteemed friend the King of France should take so strong an interest in an affair which to him seemed to belong to God, and "which the Divine Being appears to have left entirely to our own discretion."[1] His religious temperament and philosophical mind were, therefore, attracted to these

[1] Bowring, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 99.

strangers, who came to teach his people a religion so akin to Buddhism in many of its leading features, and a code of morality inculcating such maxims as this: "Cease from all sin; Get virtue; Cleanse your heart."

The attitude also taken up by the new convert, Constant Phaulkon, who exercised a considerable influence over the King, largely contributed to confirm the amicable relations his majesty had established with the Jesuits, and which were, if possible, further consolidated when his ambassadors returned from France and reported to him the greatness of that nation, and the magnificence and power of Louis XIV. The arrival of the ambassadors at his court, in two ships of war, and attended by a large suite, bearing presents and letters from the King of France, was a signal triumph for the Siamese Government, and must have been a subject of astonishment, not unmixed with envy, to the other European nations then represented at the capital of Siam, more especially to the Dutch, who by their imperious conduct had driven him into the arms of France, and also to the English, who, by their misunderstandings among themselves, and indecision as to the value of the trade of Ayuthia, had seriously impaired their influence at the capital. This the English factors now began to realize, and in view of the departure of the French ambassador they wrote a letter to the Court on the 5th December, 1685,[1] informing them that in their opinion the "Ffrench ambassadors design to drive away the other nac̃ons." To defeat this design they asked the Court to send an ambassador, "as ye Ffrench have done," and since Constant Phaulkon "was sole governor and disposer of all affairs in the kingdom, and had declared himself devoted to the Court's service," they desired that a title of honour might be conferred on him, and moreover

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., A A 6. This letter was intrusted, in all probability, to the care of some one on board the ambassador's ship, as it was received in London, "*via* France," on the 23rd June, five days after M. de Chaumont's arrival at Brest.

suggested that a small factory should be established at Tenasserim, as it "would be a scourge to Bengall."

French influence, however, was supreme for the time being. The Siamese mandarins seemed to have become infatuated with their newly-made friends, in whom they had such confidence that they even went the length of asking the ambassador to request the French King to send some of his troops to Siam for its defence against the Dutch, who had become masters of the Peninsula of Malacca, and whom they dreaded would invade their kingdom. This message was carried to France by M. le Chevalier de Chaumont, who left Siam on the 22nd December, 1685,[1] accompanied by some new Siamese ambassadors, who were graciously received on the 1st September, 1686;[2] and so gratified was Louis XIV. by this second embassy, and with the request it carried, that he caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of this auspicious event.[3]

Before the Chevalier de Chaumont had left Ayuthia, another ambassador had made his appearance at that court, not aiming, however, at political supremacy for his King, but intent, as the Sultan of Acheen and the ruler of Golconda had been, about seventeen years before, on the conversion of his Siamese Majesty, to whom he brought, not the Bible, but the Koran. His master was the Shāh of Persia.

[1] Relation de l'Ambassade de Mr. le Chevalier de Chaumont a la Cour du Roi de Siam. 1686., p. 185.

[2] Hist. de France, Louis XIV. Henri Martin. 1878. tome xiv. p. 29.

[3] The medal was of copper, and had a radius of 73 millimetres, and a weight of 172 grammes. A smaller one was also struck, having a radius of 41 millimetres. The original of the large medal is still preserved in Bangkok. On the obverse there is the following: "Ludovicus. Magnus. Rex. Christianiss," and on the reverse we read "Fama. Virtutis." On the obverse there is a profile of Louis XIV., looking towards the right, clothed in the Roman toga, with an R below, and, on the other side, the Siamese ambassadors are represented before the King, who is seated on his throne, with the following inscription below the scene: Oratores. Regis. Siam. (M.D.C.LXXXVI.) Mauger. F.: Joseph Haas in North China Branch Roy. As. Soc., 1879. New Ser., No. xiv. p. 63.

Kæmpfer,[1] who accompanied the Swedish envoy, M. Fabritius, to the court of Shāh Sulaimān at Ispahan, met there, in 1684, an ambassador from the King of Siam, and other envoys from Poland, the Czar of Muscovy, and several Arabian and Tartarian princes.

The Siamese ambassador, Ali Selim by name, demanded from the Shāh that he should send an ambassador to his royal master. This request was acceded to, and one was sent with a pomp never attending the embassies dispatched by the King of Siam to Oriental princes, as the diplomatic functions of his ambassadors were subordinated to their duties as trading agents to his Majesty. If any one of these seemingly high officials failed, on his return to court, to render a satisfactory account of his stewardship, the ambassadorial soles were made to tingle unpleasantly under the rattan of the bastinado; and such a fate was meted out to poor Ali Selim on his return from his wearisome wanderings, even although he appears to have been not unfaithful to his Royal Master.

Ali Selim, with the newly-appointed Persian ambassador, Ebraim Beague, left Ispahan in the beginning of 1685, and arrived at Masulipatam probably a month later. The news of the arrival of the Persian envoy was forwarded to the French ambassador at Ayuthia by the French missionary, M. du Carpon, who afterwards, with another clerical brother, proceeded to Mergui, and thence overland to the capital.

The East India Company's agent at Gombroon had written some time before to the President and Council at Surat to expect the Siamese and Persian ambassadors at their Presidency, a prospect, however, which Sir John Child and his Council did not look forward to with pleasure. They accordingly wrote a letter to the factor at Gombroon; but by the time it was written the ambassadors were at Masulipatam. In it they said, "We could heartily wish not to be troubled with them;" but if they were not

[1] Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. viii.

going to embark on the ships which had been built at Surat for the King of Siam, and which they had heard the Dutch were preparing for them, and were to sail on the *Barnardistan*, then the factor was told to make some arrangement with the ambassadors by which the Company would be gainers.

From Masulipatam the ambassadors went to Madras, and the President and Council there took great credit to themselves for having received them splendidly, and treated them with great civility.

The Persian ambassador had a large retinue and magnificent presents for the King of Siam from the *Sophi*,[1] including thirty-two horses; but when he arrived at Tenasserim, which he did in an English vessel, he was so impecunious that he had nothing to give to the captain, and on his landing had to borrow 600 crowns from the governor, who nevertheless received him with great honour.

The unfortunate ambassador, forgetting the maxim that beggars should be no choosers, expressed his disgust with the Siamese food provided for him. His *maître-d'hôtel* consequently took upon himself to reject all the viands presented for his master's use. This led his *compagnon de voyage*, Ali Selim, to remind the fastidious Persian, through the *maître-d'hôtel*, that the food arrangements that had been made for him at Ispahan had not been so very excellent; at which the *maître-d'hôtel* got into a rage, and ordered his people to go to market and purchase all that was necessary. The governor then ordered the shopkeepers to supply the ambassador with what he wanted free of all cost; but the market-women, fearing they would not be paid, deserted their stalls, and the haughty Persian had to beg for a pittance from the governor,[2] who appears to have transmitted to Ayuthia an account of the ambassador's behaviour, where it was reported that he had "been guilty of a thousand impertinences."

[1] Journ. ou Suite du Roy. de Siam, par L. D. C., p. 195.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 243.

The Persian ambassador's pecuniary embarrassments seem to have been so great that he was driven to borrow wherever he went; and in passing through India, he had left debts behind him, besides the other obligations he had contracted on his voyage to Mergui. Of these he was reminded, on his way back to Persia in 1687, by Elihu Yale,[1] President of Fort St. George, in the following letter:—

"To Ebraim Beagu
The Persian Ambassador.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
26 *Augt.* 1687.

I recd. your kind Lre from Acheen to the late Governr. the Honble Wm. Gyfford Esq who being on his return to England the R. Honble Compy have conferr'd the Honr. of this Governmt. upon mee where I shall be always ready to doe yor. great Master all the service in my power wch. I alsoe offer'd to yor. friends Mahomed sen and Mahmed Jacke Beague paying them all the respects and assistance they desired by them. I recd. an unwellcome accot. of yr. unkind entertainment at Syam, the Honour of yor. magnifficent King and his noble ambassy, and Prests. deserved much better, and I hope our respects and service here was to his and yor. Contentmt. if any thing was difficient therein it was more our misfortune than fault endeavouring yt. yor. reception and entertainment should express our great esteem, and honr. wee had for yor. great monarch who I know is so good and just to lett us suffer for or. services to him wch. if he doth not consider us in, wee are like to doe the King of Syam having not yett payd. us a cash of the sevell. sums or. people lent you and the Syam ambassadrs. at Persia and here: nor for the services of or. shipps yt. brought you and yor. concerns hither and carryd. you and them all to Tenassay of wch. I hope and desire you will mind yor. king off, and yt. he will please to order the money to be payd. to

[1] For a notice of this American-born Governor of Madras see appendix G.

o^{r} people according to the severall agreem^{ts} whereof you had coppys that we may be incouraged by all opportunitys to doe him the like services, and I hope and begg it may encrease his favour and kindness to ye English Merch^{ts} and affairs under the Kings Dominions and y^{t} yor selfe and friend will promote and further it what you can, and w^{t} favours are done them, shall be duly acknowledged by us and particularly represented to our King of England and his R^{t} Honble Comp who will accept it as a great hon^{r} and kindness to y^{m} and always retain a gratefull sence thereof soe praying the Almighty to bless yor King wth a long and prosperous and happy reign and yor selfe to be always in his favour and I in yo^{s} and y^{t} you will Hon^{r} me wth y^{or} . . . . and commands by all opportunitys.

ELIHU YALE."

As has been already said, the Persian ambassador had arrived with the Koran, in the hope that the King of Siam would accept Mohammedanism; and when the Ambassador of the Grand Monarque heard of this, he felt himself obliged to offer to his Majesty the Christian religion, beseeching his Majesty to embrace it. The King repudiated the idea of his accepting Mohammedanism, and said he wished with all his heart that the French ambassador were present to see how he would receive the Persian ambassador; and he added, were he to choose a religion, it would certainly not be Mohammedanism.[1]

[1] Tachard, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

CHAPTER VII.

ROYAL MONOPOLIES.

THE usurper Phra-chăo Prasathong seems to have begun, shortly after he ascended the throne, in 1629, the system of royal monopolies,[1] or at least to have accentuated it, to a degree previously unknown. This mistaken policy appears to have contributed largely to drive the Indian merchants from the capital to Tenasserim and Mergui, where they had a free field for their trading operations, away from the supervision and oppression of the minions of the King. There, too, they could command by their own native craft the trade of the Coromandel Coast and of Bengal, at that time the most lucrative commerce of Siam.

When Phaulkon came into power, he found the trade of these two ports, or rather conjoined ports, of Mergui and Tenasserim, almost exclusively in the hands of the

[1] De la Loubère, pp. 94, 338.

The system of the King being the chief merchant of his kingdom remained in full force up to the time of Sir Stamford Raffles' mission, 1821–22. The Mission to Siam and Hué, the Capital of Cochin-China, in the years 1821–22. From the Journal of the late George Finlayson. London, 1826, p. 166. But a new policy was inaugurated in the reign of the next King.

In the Calcutta Government Gazette, 8th and 15th March, 1827 (Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, compiled by Horace Hayman Wilson, Calcutta, 1827, Appendix, p. lxxxi.), it is said "Agreeably to the past practice of the Siamese court, the King has always been the principal merchant in his dominions; but upon the accession to the throne of the present (1827) King of Siam, he made a declaration, that he was determined not to be a *King-merchant*, and not to maintain any monopolies, but to permit a general free trade. The exclusive sale of sticklac, sapan-wood, aquila-wood, ivory, gamboge and pepper, which the late King of Siam monopolized, was abolished, and the collection of the duties upon those articles was farmed out."

so-called Moors, or natives of India. Being fully aware of its importance, he resolved to have a share of it for his master the King, and also for himself. In view of this, no more suitable man could have been selected for the office of Shāhbandar of Mergui than Samuel White, who had traded for the King during a number of years between that seaport and the eastern coast of India, and who was "generally well beloved by the people of the country, and by the Europeans of several nations that were also in the King's service."

The appointment, however, of an European was an innovation of the most startling character to the Siamese and Indians, as one of their number had generally held the position of port-officer, and had profited by the rich harvest to be reaped from the commerce of the bay. But the installation of an Englishman to the governorship of a Siamese town was even a more alarming change of policy, as it had been the immemorial custom to appoint an Indian governor to Tenasserim and Mergui, when those offices were not bestowed on Siamese. Although in Mr. Strangh's letter it is said that Burneby was made governor of Tenasserim, which of course meant the town, as the headship of the province was an hereditary office, it is very doubtful whether he ever held office there, as the term Tenasserim seems in those days to have been applied indifferently to itself and to Mergui. In the list of seven commissioners appointed for the administration of the two towns in 1686, already referred to, Richard Burneby appears, as sixth, under the title of *Opra Marĭt,* which, as has been already seen, unquestionably meant governor of Mergui.

The East India Company, however, interpreted Phaulkon's action in appointing Englishmen, who had previously renounced their service, to the two offices of Governor and Shāhbandar as manifesting in the most unmistakable manner his hatred and detestation of their Corporation. They held that the Greek had induced these men and other Englishmen to enter the service of the King of Siam

purely for the furtherance of his own ends, and that his custom was to promise them great rewards as well as great wages, and by "kind inveighling words" to corrupt the Company's servants, commanders, and seamen from their fidelity, duty, and service to the Company, in order "that he might become strong enough in European seamen and soldiers, with the aid of the French King, English Interlopers, English and Dutch fugitives," to gain his object, the destruction of the Company's trade.

Samuel White, however, as has already been recorded, honourably paid to the Company the amount of his bond, forfeited by leaving their ship and remaining behind in the East. Moreover, when he was appointed to Mergui,[1] he informed his friends in the Company's service at Fort St. George, Masulipatam, and Bengal of his elevation to the Shāhbandarship, and humbly tendered to them "his best services to their commands in whatever might be useful to the publick or their private concerns," and he mentions that they were pleased to return him "their kind congratulations," and to give him "several occasions of serving them." One of the services rendered by him to the Company may be here recorded in his own words. He says, "Nor was it long after my being rais'd to this Capacity (Shāhbandar of Mergui, &c.) that there did present a suitable opportunity to testifie my *Zeal* to the Companies Service; for their Ship the *Golden Fleece,* in her return from *Bengall* to *England,* sprung a desperate Leake, in which distress the only near and commodious Port that presented to their relief was *Mergen,* whither in confidence of my friendly assistance they came, and found me as ready to grant, as they could be to request, all that my interest and influence there could afford them, in my giving them the use of my own Slaves for the more expeditious unloading their Ship, securing their Goods in Warehouses ashore, and assisting the relading thereof without the least Charge, when the Ship was refitted to proceed on her

[1] "The Case of Samuel White." Appendix F.

Voyage, for which I also supplied them with whatever they wanted at the very same rates that the *King* himself paid, and wholly excused them from all the duties of the Port. But I need not particularize how fully I answered or rather exceeded their expectations in all things, or call any other Testimony for proof thereof than the report made here at home by Captain *James Cook*, the Commander, who was so sensible of my good deservings on this occasion, that he very earnestly solicited the Committee for some signification of their kind accepting those my considerable Services. But an overruling power amongst them, rendered this grateful motion ineffectual; however, I am not less pleas'd that I had the good fortune to be instrumental in securing and forwarding so great a Concern as that was, which I understand did here produce no less than £190,000."

The accuracy of White's account of his services to the Company on this occasion is testified to by Francis Heath, who was at Mergui when White rescued the ship, and who records that the warehouses mentioned by White were built at his own cost for the reception of the goods of the *Golden Fleece*.

The signal services rendered to the Company by White on this occasion were a very tangible proof of his good feeling towards them at this period of his career, and it was probably as a recognition of the assistance he had rendered to the *Golden Fleece*, in the end of 1683, that the authorities at Fort St. George came to his aid on the Coromandel Coast in the following year, when the ships belonging to the King of Siam were in need of men.

The trading factors of his Siamese Majesty in Pegu and Golconda experienced, in 1683, certain slights or wrongs at the hands of the officials of these two nations, and their grievances having met with no redress, the Government of Siam resolved to exact satisfaction for the injuries its trade had sustained, and what these were is ascertained from the records in the India Office, where it

is stated that, in 1685, Captain John Coates "of the King of Siam's navy" declared to the Councils at Masulipatam and Madapollam that the war which had by that time broken out between the two nations was only due to injuries inflicted by Ali Beague, governor of Masulipatam, on the King of Siam and his servants.[1]

In Samuel White's petition presented to Parliament[2] in April, 1689, praying for the restitution of property belonging to him valued at £20,000, and which had been seized by the East India Company, he gives the following account of the war between Siam and Golconda. "It was now," he says, "the beginning of the year 84 when I received orders from the *Court of Syam*, to fit out several Ships for prosecuting the War against the *Kings of Golcondah* and *Pegu*, as by the same Command I also did the succeeding year, in which expeditions I must own, we were very much befriended by the President and Council of *Fort* St. *George*, who supplied us with Ammunition and Naval Stores, and accommodated us with some *English-men* for these occasions, nor were they wanting to congratulate our successes, and make large proffers of their readiness, to give us further assistance, as appears by their General Letters both to my *Lord Phaulkon*, and to my self: while on the other side, there was all possible care taken by the *Kings* special Command, that not the least injury or offence should be done to the Company, or any under their protection as was strictly enjoin'd in the Commission to every Commander."

The war had been begun in 1685 by the seizure by a Siamese man-of-war of a ship belonging to the King of Golconda, valued at 100,000 crowns. The vessel was taken into Mergui, and the news of its capture reached the capital about the same time that the tidings of the arrival of the Persian ambassador were communicated to the French embassy.

[1] Consultation Books of Madapollam and Masulipatam, LL.A. 12 & 13.
[2] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. x.

Towards the end of the year, even more warlike proceedings were commenced by the Siamese, and an account of them has been preserved in the Consultation Book of the English factory at Madapollam. It begins with the 21st November 1685, and is as follows:—

"This day about 12 of the clock at night Mr. Coates sent William Mallett &c. adharents by force of armes to enter on board, and take as prize a ship of his Majesty the King of Gallcondah called the Redclove, and a ship of John Demarcora an Armenian, named the New Jerusalem[1] both while lying at an ankar in Narsapore River at the Town of Narsapore, 10 miles distance from the sea.

"22d.—This day about three of the Clock in the afternoon Capt. John Coates, and Don Joseph De Heredia &c. adharents, weighed ancar of John Demarcora's ship, and brought her up to Sanco Narsos Banksall,[2] and upon weighing of s^d. ankar fired severall shott which frightened the people of Narsapore, and Madapollam out of ther habitations and both the Governours of Narsapore, and Madapollan immediately repaired to the Factory, to Charles Fownes, and entreated him to send for the said Mr. Coates and to make up the business, and Mr. Coates promised to deliver said ships as soon as his owne is delivered to him into the which was then mending upon the shoare in Sancho Narsos yard.

"23.—This day Capt. Coates and Don Joseph De Heredia &c. adherents weighed ankar the ship of his Majesty the King of Gallcondah, and brought her from Narsapore river to Sancho Narsos Bansall, upon which the Govern^rs. of Narsapore, and Madapollam sent for the Bramenee and Dubass, and tould them Mr. Coates being an Englishman and being entertained by the English at Fort St. George, and from thence comeing to Madapollam, where he was allso entertained, and upon that respect they

[1] The *Jerusalem* had been lost some time before on the bar at Madapollam.

[2] Banksall, or Bansall, a warehouse or the office of a harbour master. Yule-Burnell Glossary.

did demand satisfaction from the Rt. Honble. English East India Compa. whereto the Bramenee and Dubass made answer, and tould them Mr. Coates were a servant to the King of Syam, and was no ways entertained by the Rt. Honble. Compa. and that the Right Honble. had a trade and Factorys at Syam, and therefore they were entertained as strangers, and servants to the King of Syam, and that anyone of the Compas. servants here knew anything of Mr. Coates, his orders or designes against them."

The light in which the native governors of Narsápur and Madapollam regarded Coates' proceedings was just what might have been expected under the circumstances stated by them, and more especially when the action of the President and Council of Fort St. George in supplying Coates with Englishmen to man his ship, and providing him with ammunition and naval stores, is kept in view. That Englishmen were supplied to him is established beyond all doubt, not only on the authority of Samuel White, but also by a letter from the President and Council themselves to the factors at Masulipatam. However, when the news reached them that Coates had seized John Demarcora's ship they immediately recalled all these Englishmen, but whether they obeyed the summons is doubtful, for when Coates returned to Mergui, there were forty Europeans on board his ship. Their reason for recalling them was, probably, not that they had realized that they had compromised themselves in granting their services to Coates, but because John Demarcora was a rich Armenian whom they were anxious should settle at Fort St. George.

On the 26th November, the Council at Madapollam wrote to Samuel Wales, the chief of that factory, who had gone on business to Masulipatam, that Don Joseph de Heredia, who declared he was a prisoner of Coates',[1]

[1] In Francis Davenport's account, published in "The Answer of the East India Company, &c.," it is stated that when Coates arrived on the Coromandel Coast he went in search of Don Joseph, and again that he "inveigled Don Joseph d'Heredia to side with him," p. 4.

had claimed eight guns lying in the factory Godowns, but that they had declined to deliver them, as they knew nothing about them. On this refusal the Don threw off the mask of prisoner and produced his commission from the King of Siam, and declared that if the guns were not made over to him he "would recover damages when he could." This threat so frightened the Council that they acceded to his demand, and delivered the guns.

Coates also demanded that the chief and his two councillors should become surety to him that the King of Golconda would satisfy the demands of the King of Siam. In the continued absence of Samuel Wales, his wife "Madame Wales" and the Doctor went on board Coates' ship to persuade him to moderation, but in vain. They, however, had the courage to refuse Coates' demand as foolish and unreasonable. The Council communicated to Wales the substance of Coates' demand, and on the 27th November he wrote to them that he declined to become security for the King of Golconda, as he was altogether ignorant of what the claims of the King of Siam were; but warned them "that whatever damage was done to the subjects of the said King, would be required at the hands of the Madapollam Council." He denounced Coates' proceedings as piratical, saying that it would have become him "first to have made demands for his master the King of Siam upon the King of Golcondah, and upon refusal of the same, in a further manner to have proclaimed war, and then to have proceeded like a man-of-war, and not a pirate in a river, and so near an English factory."

On the 27th November it is stated—"This day Benj^{a}. Worthy despatched a Gennerall (letter) to Metchlepatam of Mr. Coates his transactions. The Govern^{r}. of Madapollam and John Demarcora came to Benj^{a}. Worthy and desired him to send for Capt. Coates a shoare, but he refused to come."

"28. This day Cap^{n}. John Coats W^{m}. Mallett, and Don Joseph and adhearences weighed ankar of both ships and in

their way sayling downe to the Barrs mouth fired severall Gunns shot and all into Narsapore, which God be thanked did no harme, and also Capt. Alexander Leslie embarqued on the Kings ship[1] with his whole family," and went to Mergui. "This day the Governor of Ellore sent 100 Psons with fire armes to take Mr. Coates, and also Mahemed Alle Beague, Governor of Metchlepatam, sent 50 Rashboots.[2]

"29. This day Capn. Coates and Don Joseph De Heredia weigh'd ankar of both ships and carried over the Barr into the Roade of Narsapore, and there lay, and tooke all Boates that passed and burnt Mr. Freeman's Boates, and severall others after have taken out their lading of Rice."

For these doings of Captain Coates, the governor of Ellore again demanded satisfaction from the chiefs and Councils of Masulipatam and Madapollam, as Coates' proceedings were imputed wholly to these factories and to Fort St. George. This led to a consultation with Coates being held at the bar's mouth on the 2nd December, in which Mr. Robert Freeman, Samuel Wales, and the Councils of Masulipatam and Madapollam took part. On this occasion Captain Coates informed the Company's servants that he and the Don "had commission from the King of Siam which justified their proceedings, and these were grounded thereupon, and that the injuries done by Alle Beague to the King of Siam and his servants were the sole occasion of the said commissions, and their actions committed by virtue thereof, and as for John Demarcoras ship and jewells they had taken, they said that he was particularly named in their commission as a Mandarin of Pegu, and an enemy to the King of Siam, and they were commissioned to seize upon his ship, or vessels, person, or estate, wheresoever to be found." In the evening, the chiefs, the Councils, Captain Coates and John Demarcora went up

[1] This was one of the ships belonging to John Demarcora seized by Coates (Davenport).

[2] *Rashboot.* An old English form of the Hindi word *Rājpūt*, the name of an Indian clan, whose hereditary profession was that of arms.

from the bar's mouth to the factory, but Coates lay in his boat and would not go ashore until he had been invited by Mr. Freeman and Samuel Wales, and did not do so until Mr. Freeman went himself and invited him to go, to which he consented, but went attended by a number of armed men, for his security.

After several hours had been spent apparently in a fruitless discussion, news reached the factory that the governor of Ellore had sent a body of Rājpūts to seize Coates, and that they were already in the town. He therefore immediately left the factory, and made for the bar in his boats.

The governor of Ellore now demanded from the Company's servants the delivery of the ships seized by Coates, and threatened that unless they were given up a fourfold satisfaction would be taken for them, and they were informed that he had given orders to all his subordinate governors to stop all the Company's affairs throughout his jurisdiction until the Honourable Company made full satisfaction. Their difficulties increased, as on the following day news reached them from the Dutch chief and Council of Pulicat that Coates had seized five boats belonging to them, burnt one, and killed a man. Another consultation took place at the bar's mouth, but with no result, as Captain Coates resolutely declined to deliver up the ships, although Mr. Freeman and Samuel Wales offered their bonds of Pag^{ds}: 150,000 that the Don's ship and his vessels should be finished and put into the water in a few days, provided that the King's and John Demarcora's ships were immediately surrendered. The chiefs and Councils thereupon resolved to protest against Captain Coates' action; and they delivered to him a written document claiming £500,000 for damages done to the East India Company, and £45,000 in the name of the Netherlands Company for injuries sustained by the Dutch chief and Council of Pulicat.

From this protest it appears that Captain Coates' vessel

was called the *Prosperous*, and that he was aided in the command by William Mallett and Don Joseph De Heredia, and that the crew was a motley one, of several nationalities —English, Dutch, French, Danes, Portuguese, and Siamese.

Another consultation was held at which the governors of Narsápur and Madapollam were present, and at which Captain Coates told them that upon delivering to him the ships and boats belonging to the King of Siam, he would restore the ships he had taken and whatever belonged to them; and on the following day orders were issued by the Governors that the work remaining to be done to the ships and boats should be completed.

A further demand for the delivery of the captured vessels was made by the governor of Ellore, and at last, on the 12th December, Captain Coates delivered to John Demarcora all his goods of value, jewels, and money, and the latter gave Coates a receipt for them, and promised to complete the ships and boats that were building; but no arrangement was come to about the restitution of the King of Golconda's vessels; and as none had been made up to the 29th, the governor on the following day stopped the work on the ships and boats. On this happening, Captain Coates set fire to his old sloop the *Prosperous*, which was on the stocks being repaired, and immediately drew up his men in a body to go and seize upon the governor of Madapollam; upon which the governor sent his brother to the factory to desire the chief and Council to go to Captain Coates and persuade him to adopt milder measures. When the chief and council were on their way to do this, they met Coates in the street with his soldiers, all armed, and marching to carry out his bold design, whereupon the chief "used many persuacions," but all in vain, even although Coates was told that the Company's officers would lose their lives, and that the Company's estate would be seized, if he did not behave more discreetly. He did not, however, swerve from his purpose, and marched on to the Governor's house, but followed, it is said, by "Samuell

Wales with all the Rt. Honoble Compas and Ornamontoz."[1] When he arrived there, he was at last prevailed upon to enter with only two or three of his men; and, after an hour's dispute with the Deputy-Governor, he departed, as this official promised him that the carpenter, smiths, and other workmen should finish what remained to be done to the ships of the King of Siam.

The diary ends on the 31st December, 1685, and this is the last of the Madapollam series preserved in the India Office; but, from the letter book for 1686, some further particulars are gleaned regarding Coates' proceedings. It is there stated that in February of that year he sailed up the Madapollam river to near the island opposite Narsápur, a little below which the inhabitants had raised a fortification of teak-wood, and planted several guns. On his approaching they opened fire and he returned it, it is said the "bickerage held till the evening, having begun about 10 A.M." The fortification was set on fire, and its guns were captured with a loss of three or four of the natives.

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam wrote a letter to the Don, doubtless protesting against his own and Captain Coates's proceedings, which threatened seriously to com-

[1] In the Madapollam Consultations (30th December, 1685), it is simply said, "the Rt. Honoble Compas and Ornamontoz," but from the statement preceding it that Samuel Wales, the chief of the factory, had been appealed to by the native Governor to use his influence to put a stop to Coates' high-handed proceedings, it would appear that Wales realised the invidious position in which the Company were placed, owing to the circumstance that the belligerent was an Englishman. He therefore resolved in making the appeal to give to it all the official state and prominence he could command, in order to impress the natives with the fact that the East India Company were in no way responsible for the actions of the warlike Captain. This may have been what was intended by the use of the word "*Ornamontoz*," a mispelling of the Portuguese term *Ornamentos*, generally applied to the vestments and other ornaments of a church or monastery, but here used in a new sense to designate the paraphernalia of official state. According to the custom of the times, Samuel Wales possibly went on his mission preceded by the Company's trumpeter, and accompanied by a guard of soldiers in their best military attire, and all in armour. Of course this is merely a suggestion. For the meaning of *Ornamentos*, I am indebted to Colonel Sir. H. Yule, who referred me to Bluteau's great Portuguese Dictionary.

promise the East India Company. The letter having been sent to the factors at Madapollam, with a request that they should deliver it, they exercised a wise discretion and kept it back, until a favourable opportunity presented itself for making it over to the Don, as they realised that if they had been discovered delivering letters either to him or to Coates, such a course of action would have served only to intensify the suspicions of the native governor of Ellore, that the war had been instigated by the East India Company.

Don Joseph, like Coates, was acting with a high hand, as he had seized a boat laden with salt belonging to some Madapollam merchants, had torn down the English colours from its stern, and demanded "how any boats durst wear any colour flying where the King of Siam's were bespread." On his way also down the river with Mallett he had burned Rámeswaram, and part of Antrávedi, and had fired the remainder of it, the flames at night appearing very great to the people in the Madapollam factory, who reported to their friends in Masulipatam that both Coates and the Don had declared that they would fire Narsápur and other villages, and destroy Sancho Narso's house. This edifice, the factors reported in their letter, "narrowly escaped the Don's fury (notwithstanding the Right Honble. Company's seal was put on his godouns and house), his soldiers being ready with combustible matters upon word of command given to destroy the same, but was prevented by a message sent to Mr. Mallett" desiring him to hinder the "Don from putting to execution his ill design, which was effected partly by persuasion, and partly by force, carrying the Don in his boat with him down the river." They add, "We hear the Don intends once more to come up the river, and if he arrives at Sancho Narsos banksall, or any other place near the factory, your prementioned General to him shall be delivered." The Don gave out that after he had been once more up the river he would go to an-another Rámeswaram to the northward of Madapollam,

where there were several well-laden *Purgoes*[1] and boats that had put in for shelter, and that when he had captured them, he would make for Koringa. The people of Narsápur rebuilt their fortifications, and intended to send a message to Captain Coates informing him they were ready for him. After this a report reached Madapollam that Captain Coates was at Koringa, where he had captured and destroyed a vessel laden with rice, and that he had been wounded in the last engagement at Narsápur, and was dead. This, however, proved to be erroneous.

By March 1686, the *Jerusalem*, one of the vessels seized by Coates, was now commanded by Alexander Leslie, a naval officer in the service of the King of Siam, and was cruising off the Alguada reef, in sight of Cape Negrais. While in that neighbourhood, Lesley captured a merchant ship called the *Quedabux* on its way from Syriam to Balasor, and belonging to a Bengali trader.

There were two European passengers on this prize, which was carried into the port of Mergui, on the 13th March, 1686. Their names were respectively Francis Davenport and Carroon, the latter being a Frenchman.

There can be no doubt that Francis Davenport is the man of this name mentioned by Sir William Hedges as a pilot on the Húglí in 1680. He professed to have kept what he calls private Memoirs, in which he recorded the circumstances attending the capture of the *Quedabux*, and the events that took place at Mergui and at the capital during his residence in Siam, until the end of July 1687.

[1] This word occurs several times in Hedges' Diary. Colonel Sir Henry Yule has favoured me with the following note on *Purgoe*. He says, "Here is an account of the *Purgo* taken from the MS. referred to in vol iii. Hedges' Diary, p. 183. 'A *purgoe*: These Vse for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo (Pipli) and Ballasore: with these boats they carry goods into ye Roads on board English and Dutch &^c. Ships, they will live a longe time in ye Sea beinge brought to anchor by the sterne as theire vsual way is.' J. B., the author, gives a rough drawing. It represents the *Purgoe* as a somewhat high-sterned lighter, not very large, with five oar-pins a side. I cannot identify it exactly with any kind of modern boat of which I have found a representation—it is perhaps most like the *pulwar*.

I think it must be an Orissa word; but I have not been able to trace it in any dictionary, Uriya or Bengali."

Before proceeding further with the narrative a short sketch may be given of Francis Davenport's history and character, as they are made known to us in a petition presented to Parliament in 1689 by the East India Company.

Like the two brothers Elihu and Thomas Yale, and their quasi kinsman Nathaniel Higginson,[1] Davenport was an American, and apparently belonged to Boston, where a family of this name had settled about the third decade of the seventeenth century.[2]

His history begins with the time when he was employed at Boston by one Lee, his kinsman, as master of a *ketch* bound for Falmouth harbour in the island of Antigua. While the owner lay sick in bed, Davenport contrived by lying and duplicity to sell the *ketch*, appropriate the proceeds of the sale, and to decamp to England, deserting his wife. Thence he proceeded to Tonquin in the ship *Flying Eagle* as quarter-master, and seems to have been engaged for the purpose of constructing a crane for the King, a work he performed so ingeniously and satisfactorily that his mechanical skill attracted the notice of the Company's servants.

Whatever the ship may have been, Davenport states that he went out to the East in the same ship with Phaulkon, who, from other sources, it appears, sailed to India with George White in the capacity of cabin-boy, but whether on his first or second visit to England does not appear. After constructing his crane at Tonquin, Davenport was appointed gunner to the ship *Formosa*, which arrived there in 1678. As the ship was going to Bantam, he was intrusted with a number of commissions, both by English

[1] Franklin B. Dextér, vol. iii. of Papers of the New Haven Colony, Historical Soc., 1882, p. 238.

[2] The History and Genealogy of the Davenport Family, by Amzi Benedict Davenport. New York, 1851 and 1876. 12°. In "The Pilgrim Republic, an Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth, by John Goodwin, Boston, 1888," p. 580, it is mentioned that a Captain Davenport (possibly Francis' father) was killed by lightning, in 1665, in the castle at Boston.

and native merchants; but when the vessel arrived at its destination, he decamped in the *Johanna* for England with all the money of his dupes. While in London he perpetrated another fraud, doubtless to raise money to assist him in going once more to the East. On this occasion, he passed himself off to a friend as the heir of a fictitious Mr. Davenport, who, he said, was very old, and intended to settle his fortune on him. This appeared in an advertisement, of which Davenport himself was the author, and having shown it to his friend, he advanced to him a sum of money. The next place he visited in India was the Húglí, where he was employed by the Company in their ship the *James*, and there he married while his first wife[1] was still alive. As has been already said, he is mentioned in (Sir) William Hedges' diary[2] as a pilot, but leaving the Company's service, he was engaged in a similar capacity in a small sloop belonging to John Davies, an interloper. This vessel he lost at the mouth of the Húglí through carelessness. On his return to Húglí he was accused by some of the Company's servants with the murder of John Naylor, the supercargo of the sloop, but was acquitted from want of evidence, although there were strong reasons for believing him to be guilty. After this he went on the ship *Hopewell* to Syriam, and was shipwrecked. Returning to Bengal on the *Quedabux*, he was carried with the vessel into Mergui.

Francis Heath, who knew Davenport well, says that he was a dishonest and faithless fellow; while Robert Harbin describes him as a treacherous villain; and George White stigmatises him as "a vile wretch, and one of the most notorious rogues in nature, and so esteemed by all honest men." Such being the reputed character of Francis Daven-

[1] Mr. F. B. Dexter, to whom I wrote asking if he could throw any light on Francis Davenport's relations, &c., kindly replied as follows:—"I find that a Francis Davenport, mariner, is known to have married in Boston, about 1675, Ann (born 1654), daughter of Dr. William Snelling. But beyond this fact I can learn nothing whatever."

[2] Hakluyt Soc., 1888, vol. i. p. 92.

port, it is difficult to select and reject from his "Historical Abstract," which, however, when studied in connection with some other documents of the time still extant, is found not to be wholly devoid of truth, although many of his statements affecting Samuel White have been denounced as "false and scandalous lies." After a very careful consideration of the whole subject, only those parts of the "Historical Abstract" that may be regarded as approximately correct will be utilized in this narrative. The letters which Davenport attributes to Phaulkon and to Samuel White bear internal evidence that they are not forgeries. They will therefore be accepted as true.

Although Davenport has been denounced as an infamous slanderer, it must not be supposed that White was without reproach. We get an insight into his character from one of Phaulkon's letters, which from its high tone could not have been forged by Davenport. In this letter White is spoken of as a man passionate in his expressions and gestures, and of not very temperate habits, but one whom Phaulkon at the same time, after mature deliberation, had considered worthy of the responsible position in which he had placed him, and, he adds, that he could not charge him with being a court parasite.

On the day following their arrival at Mergui, Davenport with several other passengers, and among them the Frenchman, M. Carroon,[1] were taken ashore under a

[1] The similarity of this name Carroon to Caron, the name of the man who established the first French factory in India, *viz.*, that of Surat, in 1668, is so great, that Davenport's friend was in all probability a son of the old servant of the French Company. In going over some documents in the Public Record Office, London, I came across an unsigned and undated fragment, in French, saying 'that the writer would be grateful for any information regarding the fate of M. Caron, of whom the following particulars are given. He is described as a Dutchman, who had been originally a superintendent in the Dutch Company, and had proved himself a very capable person, experienced in the trade of the East. He had resigned the service of the Dutch Company, and through the aid of M. Foú, Ambassador of France, had entered the service of the French Company, becoming a naturalised Frenchman, his wife and family residing in Paris. He was sent by the French King as his ambassador to the Emperor of China and Japan, and to Java, with a view to establish trade with these

strong guard to the Shāhbandar's house, where Davenport met another Englishman, Mr. William How,[1] who was then acting as steward and cash-keeper to Samuel White. This man had been carried into Mergui on the "ship *Mahmuddy*, belonging to *Meer Facqueer Deun of Metchlepatam*," and which had also been condemned as a prize some time before, and afterwards dispatched on a roving commission to the Coromandel Coast under the command of Captain Edward English. How's subsequent fate will be narrated farther on.

On the day Davenport landed, he observed a ship crossing the bar and anchoring in the port. It was laden with twenty-two elephants, and piloted by a Portuguese, who was taking the ship to Húglí. He and Carroon therefore asked permission of the Shāhbandar to be allowed to leave by this ship, a request which was at first freely granted. Davenport tells us that when he and M. Carroon were putting off in a boat to go on board the ship, he was called back by Mr. White, who told him there were reasons why it was not convenient he should go by that vessel, and offered him employment in the service of the King of Siam. He was at first inclined to refuse the offer, but ultimately agreed to stay on at Mergui until the following August, at fifteen taels per month.

After accepting White's offer he wrote to the owner of the *Hopewell* informing him of the loss of the ship, and while he was doing this, his box, &c., were brought ashore, and M. Carroon proceeded on his way to Bengal.

places. He left Paris in 1665, and embarked at La Rochelle with three of the French Company, and had apparently not been heard of since.' In Colonel Malleson's account of M. Carron the founder of the first French settlement in India, it is stated that after his disgrace he returned to Europe, but was drowned, as the vessel, in which he sailed was lost in entering the harbour of Lisbon, one of his sons being the sole survivor. This was in 1673, so it is possible that Davenport's companion was this son.

[1] This man appears to be the William How mentioned on a number of occasions in Sir William Hedges' Diary, the last being on the 19th August, 1684. He was the first person who informed Sir William Hedges of the conspiracy that existed against him at Húglí. Vol. i., 1887, pp. 154–155.

On the following day, Davenport was installed by White as his secretary and accountant, and a writer was promised to assist him in transcribing the papers and accounts in a better hand than he could write; but Francis Heath, who was supercargo of one of Samuel White's ships while he was Shāhbandar of Mergui, says Davenport acted as White's servant, and assisted him "in the multitude of business," and was of use to him as he was very quick with his pen.

The war between Siam and Golconda continued; and the *Sancta Cruz*, a vessel of 350 tons burthen, was captured about the time Davenport arrived in Mergui. It was the property of Joseph, the brother of John Demarcora. The prize was sent to Acheen with its cargo under charge of some men; but as White was afraid they might either be overpowered on the voyage or be persuaded to allow the vessel to escape at Acheen, he took the precaution to keep Joseph Demarcora and his son at Mergui as pledges for the return of the ship, promising at the same time to use his influence at Ayuthia for the restitution of the *Sancta Cruz* and its cargo to its owner. Joseph Demarcora being aware that Davenport had come out from England in the same ship with Constant Phaulkon, asked him to intercede for him with his old shipmate; "which I," says Davenport "(not daring to deny any thing, within the compass of my power, to one whom I owed my Redemption from Slavery), accordingly writ." In his narrative he laments the misfortune of his benefactor, "who little deserved such usage as not only being no Subject of the King of *Golcondah*, but being the Redeemer of many poor *English* Men, and others, at his vast charge, out of Captivity in *Pegu*." But, as has been already seen, John Demarcora was a mandarin of Pegu, and was specially mentioned in Coates' commission; and from the influence which his brother Joseph appears to have had in that kingdom, it is probable that his ship was also seized under powers given to the commanders prosecuting the war on the shipping of

Pegu. The following is Davenport's letter to Phaulkon pleading the cause of the humane Armenian:—

"MERGEN, *24th March*, $168\frac{4}{5}$.[1]

"MY LORD,

"The Signal Obligations I lye under to this Bearer, the Redeemer of my self, and many other Poor Men out of Captivity, call for all the Evidences of my Gratitude, that any Opportunity can put into my Hands; so that though long absence, and diversity of Fortunes may have drawn a Curtain betwixt Your Lordship and my self, and put me by all pretence to any Interest with You, from a former Friendship or Acquaintance in any matter that might immediately concern my self; yet in this particular Instance, when my best of Friends require it, I hope I may become Your successfull Humble Petitioner; That You would vouchsafe him all the favour You can in his present Affair, and then I am sure he will find all the favour he desires, which is the restitution of his Ship and Estate, taken from him under pretence of His Majesties Authority; and though I do not pretend to a Spirit of Prophesie, yet I dare be confident to affirm, that Your Lordship, in doing that just and generous act will find more satisfaction, and reap more true Honour than can be expected from the Ruine of so well-deserving an Honest Man, as is Joseph d'Marcora, whose Condition I humbly recommend to Your Gracious Consideration.

Your Lordships most Humble Servant,

"FRANCIS DAVENPORT."

He does not record the result of this appeal, but from what he relates some months afterwards, the *Sancta Cruz* was not restored to Joseph Demarcora, but was rechristened the *St. George*, and called the King's ship, and was selected to proceed to Mocha.

Another ship the *Traga Raja*, captured off the coast of

[1] This is evidently a misprint for $168\frac{5}{6}$, as Davenport did not reach Mergui, as has been seen, until March, 1686.

Pegu, ultimately proved to be the property of a native of Madras. It was carrying a number of Indian merchants, also inhabitants of that town who, after their release from imprisonment at Mergui, presented a petition to the President and Council at Fort St. George, on the 14th April, 1686, stating that they had embarked as passengers at Syriam, and that the vessel, shortly after it had left the port, had been seized by a man-of-war belonging to the King of Siam, and that the first to board their vessel was an Englishman, Captain Cropley of the *Dorothy*. They state, in their petition preserved in the India Office, and to which fifteen names are affixed, that no sooner was their vessel boarded than their captors began to rob the ship. They were then transferred to Captain English's ship, the *Revenge*, and carried to Mergui, where they were put in prison, in a godown, and kept for eight days without eating or drinking, undergoing many hardships, until at last they were driven by hunger to make such a noise that their shouts reached the Shāhbandar who sent for them, and told them that they must sign a paper declaring that he had done nothing to them and taken nothing from them! They state that they were so oppressed with hunger and other troubles that they signed not only one, but two papers, as they were unable to undergo again what they had already suffered. They alleged that they had paid Samuel White 3117 pagodas to clear the ship and escape any further imprisonment, and also stated that White had taken 325 pagodas in gold and silver from the *Nákhuda* or master of the ship, who had also been robbed of his earrings, and of a parcel containing rubies, musk and other valuables. As they claimed to be inhabitants of, and assistants in the Fort of St. George, under the Honourable Company's flag, and as the Shāhbandar was an Englishman, and the other *robbers* English, they prayed the Council to order that justice might be done them.

On the day following the submission of this petition, the

Council wrote a letter to White,[1] informing him that the merchants seized at Mergui were inhabitants of Madras, and that their property ought therefore to be restored to them, and that they would await his answer, which, if not satisfactory, they would then consider what course they would follow to repay these people for their losses. This letter was sent to Mergui by the King of Siam's ship the *Revenge*, which had arrived at Fort St. George towards the end of February, with letters from Samuel White to Mr. Robert Freeman, the chief of Masulipatam, and with the bills of lading of three ships. From this it would appear that White acted as chief in all affairs affecting the trade of Mergui, and before this incident he had been recognised as such by the East India Company's authorities at Fort St. George and Masulipatam, for they were in constant correspondence with him. White, in his petition to the House of Commons, acknowledged that two considerable ships had been captured at Pegu and had been brought into Mergui; but he asserts that although they appeared to belong to inhabitants of Masulipatam, he discharged them on their producing English passports. It is noteworthy, however, that he makes no mention in it of this petition of the captive merchants of the *Traga Raja*, preserved in the Records of the East India Company.

Mr. Thomas Yale, one of the members of the Harbin-Gyfford mission, arrived at Mergui overland from the capital on the 16th March, 1686, accompanied by Mr. James Wheeler who had written to the Company that he intended to return to Madras by that route, and also by Mr. John Kiddall who was on his way to Madras to take his wife to Ayuthia. From Davenport's Historical Abstract we learn the fact that Elihu Yale, the brother of Thomas, had been purchasing jewels, at Phaulkon's request, for the King of Siam, which is verified by a letter written by Elihu Yale on the 2nd of July, 1686–87, in which he estimated the value of the jewels he had pur-

[1] Letter from the President and Council, Fort St. George, to Samuel White, 15th April, 1686.

chased at ₿10,500.[1] The precious stones had doubtless been carried to Bangkok in the *Falcon*, and had been intrusted to the care of Thomas Yale to deliver to the Greek. The latter, however, when he saw them, considered that they were not worth the value that Elihu Yale had put upon them. He therefore resolved to have nothing to do with them, and it was this decision that led to Thomas Yale's journey to Mergui, as Davenport relates that when he arrived there he had the returned jewels in his custody. This seems to have been a disgraceful business, and was characterised by George White, in his petition to Parliament, as treacherous dealing on the part of Elihu Yale. The facts connected with it were well known to Samuel White, and as Yale was afraid he might give evidence against him, Davenport, when he wrote his malicious attack on Samuel White, in revenge for having been publicly whipped and imprisoned at Mergui by White's order, found in Elihu Yale a willing confederate in blackening White's character.

Desertions from the Company's service to that of the King of Siam seem to have been rife at this period, for among the papers intrusted to Harbin to be made over to the authorities at Madras was a list of the officers and men who had deserted at Bangkok, from the ship *Dragon*, commanded by Captain Fenn.

The King of Siam had also his own troubles, as his servants on the Coromandel Coast had been pledging his credit without his sanction, which led Phaulkon to request the President and Council to make no advances to the King's factors unless at his special request.

On the 20th March, the *Dorothy*[2] sailed from Mergui with Thomas Yale, his companions and the jewels, and arrived at Madras on the 6th May.

But a few days before its departure, Captain Coates returned to Mergui in his ship the *Robin* with a crew of about forty Europeans full of the great deeds their commander

[1] Oriental Repertory, vol. ii. p. 189.
[2] The name of this ship was afterwards changed to the "*Mergui Frigate*."

had achieved in Madapollam and Masulipatam. His reception, however, by White, according to Davenport, was not so cordial as he had expected, and shortly after his arrival the Shāhbandar taxed him with having been very indiscreet in his management of the King's affairs on the Coromandel Coast, and told him that he would be required to go to Ayuthia to give an account of his acts to the King. Coates was indignant at this, and showed to Davenport his original commission from the King of Siam to prosecute the war, the revocation of it, and White's private order encouraging him to continue it. The two came to high words, and Coates in a great passion openly slighted the Shāhbandar and Lord Phaulkon, and "privately ordering his chirurgeon to bring him an ounce of opium, pretended in sight of them all to swallow a large pill, throwing away the remaining opium out of the window after he had shown it to Mr. White, and upbraided him with his ungenerous conduct, which had driven him to take that pill." White, supposing that he had poisoned himself, called in the two garrison surgeons, both Frenchmen, who declared that Coates had not taken poison, although his own surgeon asserted that he had given him the opium. They, however, administered antidotes, and by the following day he had recovered. After this episode Coates and White became reconciled, and the latter promised if Coates would go up to Ayuthia he would undertake that all his proceedings on the Coromandel Coast should meet with the approbation of the King. Coates accordingly proceeded by the overland route to the capital on the 22nd April, 1686.

In the same month the ship *Delight* arrived at Mergui, with a cargo of cloth over 6000 pagodas in value, the joint property of S. White and of Thomas Lucas, one of the Company's councillors at Fort St. George, the two being owners also of the ship. From Mergui, the *Delight* went up to Tenasserim for the convenience of repacking the cargo into bales for transport to Ayuthia, under the

care of Mr. Francis Heath. Some Masulipatam goods were added, and also "twelve Pattararaes (boxes) of *Ophium*,"[1] that had been consigned to Mr. White by Dr. Ralph Harwar[2] of Bengal. The drug, however, shortly after it reached Ayuthia, became a *drug* on the market, as the Macassars, its chief patrons, were all killed. It was, therefore returned to Mergui and sent to Malacca.

The ship *Agent* from Bengal also arrived in April with a cargo of butter, oil, salt, dammer, cloth, and raw silk. On board the vessel was Mr. John Threder,[3] with whom White had a share of this adventure along with Mr. John Tyler and Fytche Nedham. The latter had been dismissed the Company's service in 1681 for his flagrant encouragement of interlopers, and was at this time residing in Bengal, seemingly at Húglí.[4]

In April, also, Don Joseph De Heredia appeared at Mergui in a new ship of his own called the *Sancta Rosa*, of about 400 tons, having on board a number of French and Portuguese soldiers whom he had persuaded to join the service of the King of Siam, and forty-five prisoners besides, whom he and Coates had captured in the paddy boats off the Coromandel Coast. Don De Heredia was in much the same position as Coates, whom he had aided and abetted in his exploits against the subjects of the King of Golconda. White therefore declined to audit his accounts, and insisted on his submitting them to the authorities at Ayuthia, so that he also set out by the overland route for the capital about a week after Coates' departure.

1 "The prohibition against the introduction of opium into the dominion of Siam, is of very ancient date, although, in some reigns, it was not so rigidly maintained. . . . Turpin in his History of Siam, vol. 1, page 262, says that opium, in Siam, was positively contraband, and that . . . the penalty of late years, has been forfeiture of the opium, with a fine of eight times the weight in silver, for all opium found with any person, and sometimes, particularly at Queda, and in the southern provinces of Siam, the boat, and the whole of the rest of the cargo or property of a trader, discovered introducing opium, have been seized and confiscated."—Calcutta Gov. Gazette, No. 33, 8th to 15th March, 1827, quoted by H. H. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, App. p. lxxxvii.

2 This official was resident at Húglí, and is mentioned on several occasions by Sir William Hedges in his diary, vol. i. pp. 156, 165, and 167.

3 For a notice of John Threder, *see* Hedges' Diary, vol. ii., p. cclxxxv.

4 Hedges' Diary, vol. i., pp. 90, 91.

Both Samuel White and his assistant, Davenport, had gone to Tenasserim to superintend the repacking of the cargo of the *Delight*, and while there the Shāhbandar ordered that all the rents and penalties of the year should be made over to him. In mentioning this, Davenport explains that White was "never without his Emissaries and Spies, brib'd for that end, in every Family of Note in the Province; and when any of them are worth the fleecing, have committed any little pilfering tricks in their respective Employments, upon notice given to him, he presently aggravates the Crime to the Lord *Phaulkon*, who leaves it to the *Shabander*, to try and punish the fault at his own discretion, which in such Cases seldom fails of commanding a total Confiscation of the Delinquent's Estate, and sometimes they are told into the bargain, that it is a great favour in him, that besides, or contrary to the King's Order, he forbears the ransacking of all the Parties Relations, though brancht out into several distinct Families; that is to say, Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Sisters, Uncles, Aunts, *&c.*, and by this course he strikes so great an awe into them, that none of them have the courage to enquire into anything that he does, or presume to make their Complaints to Court, being fearful that his Interest there would crush them to pieces, Stock and Branch." De la Loubère[1] says the confiscations were fixed by law, and sometimes extended "to the Body, not only of the Person condemn'd, but of his Children too," and that the governors had men to execute their orders; and that on the frontier they arrogated to themselves "all the rights of sovereignty, and levied when they could extraordinary taxes on the people;" so it would appear, from Davenport's account, that White had soon fallen into the ways of his predecessors in office.

It is untrue, however, that no complaints were made to the court by those from whom White exacted the King's dues, as Francis Heath[2] has stated that complaints were

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

[2] In George White's Petition to Parliament Francis Heath is described as a London Merchant.

lodged against him for severity in enforcing them, but that he was entirely cleared, and that they had been made in revenge, possibly by those who had been able to pay, and could not bribe the Englishman. The men who brought the charges against the Shāhbandar were fined, and corporal punishment was inflicted on several of them in the presence of Francis Heath, and the principal offender was sentenced to death, but at White's intercession his life was spared.

The following extract from Davenport's Historical Abstract giving his account of the proceedings of one month at Mergui will serve to illustrate the nature of some of the charges he brought against Samuel White:—

"The height of business being now over, Mr. *White* dedicated this Month (May) to his divertisement and recreation, and began with a design to sound round all the Islands near this Port, and take notice of all the Channels leading to it, for which end he took me with him in the Sloop *Robin*, being attended by the small Sloop called the *Mary*, both which Captain *Coats* had built at *Madapollam;* but when we came out to the Westward of the Islands, we soon found the Year was too far spent for such an undertaking. The Weather not permitting our stay abroad, he then resolved to stand in again amongst the Islands, and take the pleasure of Fishing, dispatching a Pinnace to *Mergen* to fetch down the Fishermen and their Nets: When five or six dayes had past with this pleasant divertisement, an unlookt for and unwelcome summons for Mr. *White*, immediately to repair to the Court at *Levo*, dampt all our Jollity; now was it become but good manners to conform our selves to his more reserved and melancholly deportment, and *Regis ad Exemplum*, nothing but silence among us. To *Mergen* we return, where he begins to frame an Apology for his non-complyance with the Summons, alleadging not only his indisposition and want of Health, but the prejudice that would accrue to his Majesties Affairs, if he was forc'd by so sudden a removal to leave

them in that unsetled posture they yet were in; but two days afterwards, before he had dispatcht that Letter, comes another Pursuivant to call him up, and in two days more a third, with an Express, to hasten him up by night or day. Upon which, a Letter is despatcht to my Lord *Phaulkon*, of a quite different Tenor, to what was at first prepared, signifying his willingness to come up to Court to take new measures for the business of the ensuing Year, which the present state of Affairs rendered necessary; and nothing but his late being abroad to survey the Frontiers had kept him so long from moving his Honour for liberty to come and kiss his Hand; now all preparation is made for our Journey, the Souldiers and Seamen all paid off, and (which was a trick I had never heard of before) because Mr. *White* would not appear to be in the Kings Debt, he invented a Muster Role of so many mens names (who for aught any man knows never were in *rerum Naturæ*) as swept out of the Kings stock 135 *Cattees*, as clearly as if they had been lain on a Drum-head in the face of a Regiment, and because it might be as troublesome to him to have any of the Kings Stores, as well as Cash in his hands, he resolves to make a Ballance of the *Clongs* Account, by reparting all the remains (the amount whereof *per* Invoice was 276 *Cattees*) into separate charges, as already disbursed and distributed upon all the Kings Ships, and according the Kings Godouns were clean swept, and the Shabanders fill'd: Thus was I ordered to close the Kings Books in Duplicates, from *January* 168$\frac{4}{5}$ to 1st of *July* next, he making the Kings stock at *Mergen* vanish in a moment: His publick Table now broke off: His Goods and Household Utensils all Inventoried; and the keeping of his House recommended to Mr. *Hows* care, with private Letters and Instructions left for all the Commanders of Ships belonging to the Port, that might be expected to arrive, during his absence. Now also is the difference and fewd, which for four Months together (because the man had a mind to have shared stakes with Mr.

White in the Prize profits) had been maintained between himself and Mr. *Burneby* with great animosity on Mr. *Whites* part totally (at least seemingly) laid aside, and Mr. *Burneby* much courted by him, and pitcht upon to act as his Attorney, to receive and open all his Letters, and take into his possession at present his Plate, Jewels, and a small Box with Rubies."

All the dishonesty attributed to White in this extract was afterwards denounced by a number of credible and respectable men as the malicious invention of Davenport.

On the 20th of May, they began their journey to Ayuthia, but being met at Tenasserim by a fourth messenger, they proceeded in all haste to Jėlinga. From the latter place Mr. White, Captain Leslie, and Francis Davenport took the shortest journey by land, the two former in doolies, and the latter on an elephant, while they left Mr. John Turner, White's writer, and Mr. Hare, with several of the Shāhbandar's black servants to follow with the baggage in carts. At Pram they were met by two other "*Bragos Pintados*"[1] or pursuivants, to hurry White on, and they consequently embarked in boats, and went to the mouth of the Menam by sea.

[1] Tachard, *op. cit.*, p. 230, says that the soldiers in the fourth court of the palace of the King of Siam, and who also acted as oarsmen of the royal barge, were called in Portuguese *Braços pintados*, because their arms were painted red; and De la Loubère states, *op. cit.*, p. 83, that the rowers of the state boat of the Governor of the province were called by the Siamese *Kenlai*, or painted arms, and he mentions how this was done, viz., "they pink and mangle the arms and lay gunpowder on the wounds which paints their arms with a faded blue." In other words, their arms were tatooed.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHITE SICK AT LOUVO.

WHITE and his party arrived at Ayuthia on the evening of the 1st June; but before he had reached the capital he was stricken down with fever, contracted, in all likelihood, in the forest region he had crossed. The Shāhbandar, however, had the courage and strength to continue his journey on the following day to Louvo, where the Court was, and there he took lodgings in a house opposite to Lord Phaulkon's. The fever, however, increased in severity, and he became "desperately sick almost past hopes of recovery;" so much so indeed, that Davenport, who had been left behind at Ayuthia, was sent for. His sickness, however, could not have been so serious as Davenport represents, as we learn from the Records in the India Office that he was corresponding with the authorities at Madras on the 19th June.[1] Be this as it may, the tough Englishman recovered, but, venturing out too soon to see Phaulkon, a relapse followed.

Davenport relates that White's patron showed him no attention, but that "the Lady *Phaulkon* would by *Padry Pomaz,* send him sometimes what she thought might be grateful to him, and proper for him."

According to Davenport, White was under the impression that he had been secretly maligned to Phaulkon, and this taking possession of his mind during the weakness of sickness, he caused his secretary to write a letter to the

[1] Consultation Book, Fort St. George, 17th December, 1686.

Minister, complaining of his Lordship's unwonted strangeness to him, and protesting "his own innocency in all matters referring to his publick Administration of his great Master's affairs," and that "he could safely averr (and nothing troubled his Conscience now so much as that) that he had been always more Zealous for the Honour and Interest of his Master the King, then in his own Devotion towards his Creator, under whose afflicting Hand he now lay, perhaps for no one sin of a more hainous provocation;" and he ended by saying that he hoped his Lordship would not "without just provocation, take delight in plucking down the Building which his own hand had raised." Phaulkon's reply to this letter was dignified and severe. He began—

"*July* 10, 1686.

"Right Worshipful,

"We know no reason you have to charge us with strangeness in our deportment towards you, when you consider or observe our general Carriage towards all other Persons, which we hope is not offensive to any man in particular.

"The Jealousie you express of having private Enemies, who endeavour to estrange us from you, as 'tis on our part altogether Causeless; so it not only argues you culpable of something, you would not have discovered, but highly reflects upon us, as if we took pleasure in harkening to the malicious tattling and detraction of over busie men, to the prejudice of those we have thought worthy of so considerable a Trust, as we upon mature deliberation, thought good to confer upon you: Nay, Sir, we must be plain, and tell you, The *Shabander* has no other Enemy, that we know of, than the *Shabander*, which your own hand will evidently make appear.

"That you are now reduced so near the Grave is matter of trouble to us, and that you may not hasten yourself thither, let us, as your Friend, perswade you to Temperance. As to the Protestation you make of your Zeal for His Majesties Honour and Interest, give us leave to tell

you, that it is no miracle to see a man drive on his own Ambitious or Covetous designs, under a pretext of promoting his Kings Interest; though we do not desire to charge you with being a Court Parasite.

The satisfaction you desire shall be granted you, so soon as you are in a condition to be Examined by our Secretary, who should long since have been sent to you, had we not understood your Indisposition, and be cautioned to be plain, fair, and moderate in your Answers, to whatever Queries he proposes to you; avoiding all Passionate Expressions or Gestures, which may do you much harm, but cannot avail anything to your advantage.

"It will be no small pleasure to us, to find you as innocent as you pretend, nor shall we ever take delight to ruine what our Hands have built up; but if we perceive a Structure of our own raising begin to totter, and threaten our own ruine with its fall, none can tax us with imprudence, if we take it down in time. There is your own Metaphor retorted, and the needful in Answer to your Paper of yesterday's date, concluded with our hearty wishes for your recovery, as being

Your friend,

"PHAULKON."

White, according to Davenport, seems to have also thought that Phaulkon had some intention of removing him from the Shāhbandarship of Mergui and Tenasserim, and of placing those ports under the management of the Comte de Forbin, who had remained behind from Chaumont's embassy, and had been appointed governor of Bangkok. From the Count's Memoirs, however, we learn that at this time he was living in dread of Phaulkon, who, he believed, was using every snare he could devise to compass his death; but Forbin seems to have been a vain man and a slanderer.[1] White's suspicions, if they

[1] In the "Collections des Mémoires relatifs à l'Hist. de France" (Petitot), 1829, t. lxxiv. p. 247, it is said: "On remarque en outre, avec peine, que Forbin s'attache presque toujours à dénigrer les offi-

ever existed, were probably caused by the evident partiality Phaulkon had been manifesting for the French since his public renunciation, in 1682, of Protestantism, and his quite as public adherence to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith.

White had not been many weeks at Ayuthia when the *Dorothy* returned to Mergui with letters from the President and Council of Fort St. George to Harbin and Phaulkon. The former was instructed to close the factory and to leave Ayuthia,—a resolution at which the Council had arrived notwithstanding that Thomas Yale had advocated its being kept open.

Although these letters have not been found in the Records in the India Office, their substance can be guessed at from the decisions of that period recorded in the Consultation Book of Fort St. George. Another letter,[1] written shortly afterwards, relates what action the authorities at Madras intended to take after their officers were removed from Ayuthia. It was addressed to Sir John Child at Surat, who was then Director-General of all the settlements of the East India Company, and stated that the President and Council intended to make full use of the King's proclamation, which had reached them on the 2nd May, and to recall all the Englishmen in the service of the King of Siam, and to proceed against all interlopers.

During White's stay at Ayuthia, some refugees from Macassar residing in the capital were discovered, towards the middle of July, to have entered into a conspiracy, with some disaffected persons of great authority, to set fire to the city and to seize the palace and the royal residence at Louvo, and to murder the King and Phaulkon

ciers avec lesquels il a servi, surtout lorsqu'il peut craindre que leur réputation n'égale ou ne surpasse la sienne, et qu'il laisse rarement échapper l'occasion de se faire valoir à leurs dépens;" and in a footnote it is mentioned that another author has remarked: "Il traite avec indécence plusieurs personnes de mérite."

[1] From the President and Council of Fort St. George to Sir John Child, dated 28th June, 1686.

and all the Europeans. The plot having been discovered, every precaution was taken to prevent it, and it consequently collapsed. The suppression, however, was only temporary.

The ship *Herbert*, Captain Henry Udall,[1] arrived in the Bay of Siam on the 23rd August, 1686, with a letter from King James II. to Phaulkon,[2] thanking him for the presents he had sent to the English Court in 1684–85, and with letters from George White to Phaulkon, and to his brother Samuel. On the arrival of the vessel, Captain Udall went up the river to the capital, and on the 26th August he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Joseph Rea, on board the *Herbert*,[3] "that he might be compelled to go up to Lovoy (Louvo), forty miles above Siam (Ayuthia), where the King was." This letter was delivered by Captain English. A letter dated 15th September, 1686, written by George Petty at Ayuthia, is addressed not to Mr. but to Captain Rea, and we are not long left in doubt why plain Mr. Joseph Rea was now Captain of the *Herbert*, as Petty goes on to say that (Henry Udall) Captain Udall was yesterday morning killed by yᵉ "Mocosses."[4] He requested Rea to go at once to Ayuthia, and informed him that "my Lord Faulcon hath sent a Boat for you which lieth at yᵉ Town just over yᵉ

[1] See Diary of William Hedges, vol. ii. p. cclxxxix.

[2] In the Historical Abstract it is stated that Captain Udall's ship, the *Herbert*, had brought only duplicates of the royal letters, and that the originals arrived later on in the same month, in a great junk of the King's from Acheen, where they had been received from the *Josiah*, which had brought them from England (p. 12).

[3] Ind. Off. Rec. O.C., 5516. The *Herbert*, on its way to England in 1690–91, encountered three French ships (another account says six sail) at Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands between Madagascar and Mozambique, and, after an heroic defence, blew up, all on board perishing, with the exception of six or seven men who were in the pinnace. The hero of this splendid fight against such odds was Captain Burton. Alex. Hamilton, *l.c.*, vol. i. p. 20; and C. R. Low's History of the Indian Navy, 1877, vol. i. p. 77.

[4] Ind. Off. Rec. O.C., 5518. The description of the Macassar insurrection given by Père Tachard in his Second Voyage de Siam, p. 81 *et seq.*, was apparently drawn up from reports that reached him on his outward sojourn at Batavia. Petty's statement that Captain Udall was killed on the 14th September, is verified by Samuel White, whereas Tachard says (p. 116) it occurred on the 24th September.

Barr, which is called yᵉ Barrtown." He was asked to bring his pistols with him, and whatever arms he might think necessary for his defence, in case there should be any Macassars in the river, and also as many men as possible, as they would be required to load rice in a boat that was to carry it down to the ship. He sent him 100 to 150 limes, which were extremely scarce, but the same day a further quantity was promised, and Rea was informed that "fowels" could be had at Louvo. He also promised rice, hogs, ducks, and dried and salted fish.

Edward Udall, brother of Captain Henry Udall of the *Herbert*, wrote home to another brother an account of the Macassar insurrection of the 14th September, 1686.[1] He says:—

"The Muccossoes of which there is a great many of them about Siam a month before we came Rebelled but had the worst of it and hundreds there heads set upon poales and fearing they might Rise againe there Going the 13 of Sept about 30 or 40 of them to yᵉ Pallice And sent yᵉ King word they came to treat with him he sent to them to deliver up their Cresses and armes and they should be admitte they Returned yᵉ King this answer yᵗ it was not there way to treate unarmed for they knew yᵉ King of Siam very well and bad those sent out to discorse them tell there King they ware like a great tree yᵗ could not be removed but where it stood must fall and yᵗ if there King had anything to say to them he might come to them for they knew where they livd this hapned in yᵉ afternoone the Lord Phalken and Rest of yᵉ Lords had order for makeing all things Ready to Rewen there Camp yᵉ next morning which they beleaved might containe about 70 persons which they found after they had destroyed them to be so . . . . to yᵉ performance of it ware sent att yᵉ lest 15 thousand Siamers towards yᵉ evening word was brought me Brother was going with his Honour to Bankoak to se yᵗ yᵉ Castell was secured for

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., O.C., 5574.

fear ye Muccossoes should attemp to Rise this tale was not Quite told me before another came and told me he was goeing with his honour to ye Pallice, a third by that he had well don comes and tells me He was only goeing with his lord ship to order ye men of war to be in a good Readiness in case if any thing should happen and to se that they ware well provided that they might not be supprised I was sattisfied not mistrusting any thing in ye lest about 6 a clock Brother sent for me I was at a Genl house Just going to suppe but would not tarrey but promissed if could would come to them againe when came to his Honours they ware all gon and Mr. Basspoole His Honor Secretarey told me my Brother left word with him to bid me keepe our Dores securely fast and load all our gunns for it was likely to be a troublesome night and yt he was gon aboard ye men of warr to accompany his honours I then inquired what was ye matter which Mr. Basspoole told me and that they ware gon to destroy them and In that night they fenst them all Round with bambooes that they could make no isscape but in ye morning when they went about there desine nothing would searve brother and one or two more but they would goe a shoare for they ware vropians and thouse dogg If they se them but land would Runn from them although they ware perswaided to ye contrary and told they ware Desperate Villings and would Runn to ye mussells of there gunns and Crease them yet this advice could not disswaid them a shoare they would goe and ware no sooner landed but Mr. Alvie that was one savd when the pinnis was cast a way was Immediately Creast Capt Coats one of the King of Siams men of Warr Captaines was nockt in to ye water and Drowned and Brother with some more being landed in a place half a mile from them was Immediately kild his wounds being searcht (at ye Dutch Factorey where he was buried) by the Dutch Doctor who found on ye left side of the heve the bones broak with great contusion of ye utmost parts ye mussells of ye neck

wounded about the Right eare ye: fleshy part at ye: back side of the Right vpper arme cutt off the left Os Humeri above ye: abouemost Epiphisys broak by two bullets the brest pearced in between ye: third and fourth Ribb on ye: Right side and Issuing on ye: left side between ye: 2 and 3 Ribb Hirted by 2 spatts aboue ye: Os Sternon the muscils of ye: belly about ye: place where ye: stomach lies pearced through and through and ye: back with 8 severall wounds whereof one did penitrait aboue ye: second vertebra of ye: Raine. this is an Exack coppey of ye: paper ye: Dutch doctor gave me and word for word writ after him."

In Davenport's account it is stated that "Lord *Phaulkon* in Person, accompanied with about Sixty *English*, (amongst whom were Captain *Udall*, and another Gentleman, that came out of *England* with him) and about Seven Thousand *Syammers* with some *French*, began the fight with the *Macassars:* Captain *Udall*, the said Gentleman, Captain *Coats*, Mounsieur *d'Roan*, and three other *French* men were killed the first part of the Battle, but ere night, the *Macassars* were utterly destroyed, Men, Women, and Children."[1] Phaulkon himself had a very narrow escape, as it was reported some months afterwards to Sir John Child that he would, in all likelihood, have lost his life had not "a strong black Cafer flung him into the river and swam with him to the boat."

The most complete and interesting account of this insurrection is that which was written by Samuel White to his brother George in London.[2] It was dated from Siam (Ayuthia) on the 20th September 1686, and is described as a letter "Giving a full Account of the Late Rebellion made of the people of Macasser, Inhabiting in that Country, which ended with the Death of all the Rebells, who were totally Destroyed by the Kings Forces, Assisted by some

[1] Historical Abstract, p. 14.

[2] A copy is preserved in the British Museum, and is entered in the Book Catalogue thus—White S. of the East India Company's Service. A letter dated in Siam, Sep. 20, 1686, giving an account of the late rebellion by the Macasser People. London, 1687, fol. Press Mark., 816, m. 23 (46).

Europeans, of several Nations, amongst whom Capt. *Henry Udall*, and some others of our Countrymen most Unhappily lost their Lives. It says:—"In the past Month, when his Majesty with the whole Court were retired to the *Summer Pallace* of the Levo; the *Macassers* (who you know are Seated below the *Portugueze Camp*) Conspired to have burnt the City, Seized and Plundered the Pallace, Destroyed the King, and turned all Topsey-Turvy, had not the faint-heartedness of some few of the Conspirators given vent to the Plot, about six hours before the designed time of their beginning to put it in Execution, which discovery how late soever, came yet time enough to prevent the attempt for that time, the Vigilance of the Guards rendring it unfeazeable; The king on notice hereof dispatcht the Lord *Phaulkon* (who is Lord President of his Privy Councell) from Court, to the Pallace of *Siam*, to examine and take cognizance of the matter, on whose arrival there, a Party to the number of about Two hundred surrender'd themselves to the Kings Mercy, and were sent up to *Levo*, where some of them were notwithstanding found worthy of Death; another Party to the number of fifty headed by a designing and daring fellow, whom they had made their Captain, pretended to be wholly ignorant of the Plot and with all earnestness, sued for Liberty to depart the Kingdom, in a Vessel of their own which was in a readiness to transport them: To which, his Lordship, willing to have the Country ridd of such dangerous Male-Contents, by any way rather than by effusion of Blood, consented, and gave them a Tara to pass the Forts at *Bankoke;* but after their Departure from hence, being Enformed the said Captain was not so Innocent of the Plot as he had pretended, and Jelous that such a Crew, Headed by such a Desperado, might do much Mischief by Lurking in the Bay, and Surprizing the small Vessels that daily pass to and fro, to the great prejudice of the Port; He instantly dispatch'd an Express to the Chief Governour of the Garrison, one *Monsieur Forbien*, a *Frenchman*, and great

Favourite of his Lordships, to En-order him, tho' not to stop the Vessel, (yet if possible to be done without Bloodshed) to detain the said *Macasser*, Captain, Prisoner in the Fort. To this end *Forbien*, on the Landing of four or five of them, to shew their pass before he would permit the opening of the Chain, sent them on Board again, with an Invitation for their said Captain to come on shore, who accordingly did, accompany'd with six others, and (whether through Ignorance or Oversight) were all of them permitted to Enter the Fort, Armed with Creases, where *Forbien* treated them very Civilly with *Tea, &c.* for the space of half an hour; but in the conclusion the *Macassers* offering to be gone, the *French* Governour, now too late, told the Captain he must Surrender his Arms, which he replyed, *he would not but with his Life;* whereupon *Forbien* Commanding a *Brazo Pintado*, that stood by, to Disarm him, he immediately drew his Crease and ript up the poor *Siammer*, after whose Example the rest began their Muck,[1] and fought very desperately untill they were all kill'd upon the place, by the Sentrys and the help of Two Englishmen, at that time Prisoners in the Fort, having first slain several *Siammers*, and wounded a Young *French* Captain.

"This first Brush being over, the Governour sent to Summon the rest of the *Macassers* on shore, having beforehand Ordered to be drawn up two Companies of *Siam* and *Portugueze* soldiers, (Headed by Captain *Minchin*, and Captain *Hues*, lately come-in hither from *Bombay*) to receive them, whilest himself secured the Fort with a Third Company; but they refusing to Obey his Summons, he sent to set Fire of their Vessel, which was accordingly done, and the *Macassers* then seeing themselves forc'd to the shoar, and thinking to distract the Souldiers from too

[1] Old travellers and writers used *amuco*, *amoco*, *amok*, &c., to run a muck. According to Crawford, this expression was derived from the Javanese *amuk*, "to tilt; to run furiously and desperately at any one; to make a serious onset or charge in combat." For further information consult the Yule-Burnell Glossary, pp. 12–16.

strict an observance of them, immediately on their Landing set fire to several Houses, which gave them opportunity to rally their Forces, then amounting to Forty-three Persons armed only with Creases in open face of the Fort, where they undauntedly confronted the whole strength of the Garrison, which Captain *Hues* not able to bear, too rashly advanced against such desperate Fellows, and with six or seven *Portugueses* that follow'd him, met their Deaths on the point of the Enemies Creases, having first laid dead an equal number of *Macassers, Minchin*[1] also very narrowly escap'd with Life, being deserted by the unexperienced and Raw Souldiers under him, the Fort in meantime not being able to ply their great Guns to do any Execution for fear of Killing their own men ; In this skirmish fell also about Twenty-six *Siammers,* all of them Creast: However at length the *Macassers* fled, and being afterwards pursued and hunted from place to place, in Seaven or Eight days time they were all taken, and their fifty Heads staked upon poles at *Bankoke,* and it's not amiss their escape to Sea was so opportunely prevented, for three days after this happen'd, arriv'd some *Englishmen* from *Mergin,* who knew nothing of the matter, yet affirmed, That in the Offing of this Barr, they saw Forty Sayl of *Mallay* Vessels plying to *Windward,* whereas not one had gone out from hence, and therefore it's supposed they had been Cruising on the Coast, to expect this said Captain with an account of their Success on shoar, and that then the appointed time being expired and the time of English Shipping to arrive at hand doubtfull of a Discovery of the Plot a-shoar, they were returning homewards. A Third Party of these *Macassers* to the number of One Hundred or thereabouts, with their Prince at the Head of them, stood upon their Defence in their own

[1] This was Captain William Minchin, who is frequently mentioned in Sir Wm. Hedges' Diary. Vol. i. p. 113.
In another document (*vide infra* p. 322) he is named Wm. Michin, and as resident at Ayuthia in 1687, along with some other Englishmen who were then ordered to return to Madras.

Camp, to whom the King after his return hither from *Levo*, was pleased to make a tender of Pardon, provided they would lay down their Arms, Tho' perhaps expecting by this his unlookt for Clemency, to arrive at the discovery of all such ill-affected *Siammers*, as possibly might have more then a finger in this Conspiracy, but this gracious offer of his Majesty had not the design'd effect; for about the 10*th* of this month, the said Prince attended by the whole Crew of desperate Votaries, all arm'd with Creases and Launces, went to the Palace Gate: whence he sent word to his Majesty, That in the sense of his late Error, and reliance on his Royal word, he was come to ask his Majesties Pardon, and promise a peaceable demeanour for the future; and to that end desired admittance to throw himself at his Majesties Feet, To which he was answered, That the Posture he then was in, did not correspond to his pretences, but if he would at first surrender his Arms, and Command his Attendants to do the like, his Majesty would readily grant him liberty to come into his Presence, and confirm the Pardon he had already on that condition offered them; whereupon the Prince peremptorily replied, he would never be guilty of so base a Submission as required the parting with their Arms; adding that he was not unsensible of an approaching great Storm: *But*, says he, *tell the King, I am like a great Tree, well Rooted, and shall be able to endure any ordinary Shock; but if the Storm comes so Violently on that I cannot longer stand it, he may be Assured my fall will not be without the ruine of much under wood; and since I cannot be suffered to speak to the King with my Arms, if he has any further business with me, he knows where to find me at my own House.*

"All Resentment of these daring Expressions was seemingly smother'd, and it was thought most convenient to lull him into Security, by suffering him for that time to depart without taking any further notice of it; tho' all possible Preparations were with great privacy made to

reduce him by Force. And according the Lord *Phaulkon* in Person, accompanied with Sixty *Europeans*, having first in the Night blockt up the small River, and so surrounded the *Macassers* Camp with about two Hundred of the King's Galleys and Boats, that they could not possibly fly; on *Tuesday* the Fourteenth Instant at break of day gave Order for the Onsett, intending first to have fired down all the Houses before them, that so they might force their Skulking Enemies to an open Fight, who otherwise would have the opportunity of Murdering all that came near them, and yet keep themselves unseen: But alas! the Rashness of some of the Chief *Europeans* hurried them on at once, to the breach of Orders and their own Death, and that without any damage to the Enemy; For Captain *Coates*, and by his Example and Command, several others Landed before the time on a small Spot of a dry point, where the *Macassers*, e're they could well look about them, rushing out of the Houses dispatcht one Mr. *Alvey*, newly arriv'd in the Herbert, and forced the rest to take to the Water again, in which hasty Retreat, Captain *Coates* with the weight of his own Armour and Arms lost his Life in the Water,[1] the rest with much danger and difficulty recovering their Boats. This sad Prologue to the yet sadder Tragedy, a man would have thought warning enough for them to have proceeded afterwards with more discretion; but being for the most part of them men of more Resolution then Conduct, and unacquainted with the way of fighting with such an Enemy, and yet Emulous of shewing themselves every man more Valiant then his Neighbour: About three hours afterwards having by burning that part of the Camp, and hot plying of the Guns out of the Gallies, put the Enemy to a Retreat two

[1] In a letter from Fort St. George to Surat, dated 20th December, 1686, it is said that Coates "accidentally, runn into a Boggy place, where (being all in Armour), sunck down into it, and taken up dead." Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. ccxc. In Tachard's "Second Voyage" it is said that "le sieur Cotse" having sprung into the river to save himself, received a blow on the head that killed him. *l. c.* p. 119.

Miles higher up the small River, Captain *Henry Udall* (who in Complement to his Lordship accompanied him to be only a Spectator) had not the Patience to continue any longer so: but (notwithstanding all his Lordships earnest disswasions from it) would needs leap ashore, where he had not been long, with several other *English* in his Company, e're a parcel of *Macassers*, in disguise of *Siammers*, by hawling a small Boat along the Shoal-water, got so near them, undiscerned to be Enemies, as to reach them with their Launces, at which time it unluckily fell to Captain *Udalls*[1] Lot to lose his Life, the rest very difficulty escaping by Taking the Water, tho' those *Macassers* escapt not the small-shot from the Boats: Nor was his Lordship exempted from as Eminent Danger as any man that came off with Life: For Captain *Udall's* resolute going a-shore had drawn him thither also, being loth to leave the Company of one he so much respected; but the Enemies Lances, (at which you know they are most expert) forced his Retreat, being glad for some time to hang on the off-side of his Boats Stern for shelter. You will not, (tho' many others I believe will) wonder the *Europeans* small shot could prevent their doing so much mischief with only Lances and Creases, when you call to mind their desperateness, who are a sort of People that only value their Lives by the mischief they can do at their Deaths; and regard no more to run up to the very Muzzle of a Blunderbuss, then an *Englishman* would to hold his hand against a Boys Pop-Gun. There fell also four *Frenchmen*, among whom *Monsieur de Roan*[1] was one: So that now at length other mens harder fates begun to make the rest more Circumspect; and continuing to burn and lay all Levell before them, about Ten in the Forenoon arrived there a Recruite of *Siammers*, (the whole number imployed by Land and Water being no less than Seaven or Eight Thousand) with which they began to pick them off very briskly, I mean as fast as they could spy them

[1] Tachard, *op. cit.* Yjoudal, p. 121 : *ibid.* sieur de Roüan, p. 121.

Sheltering in the Bambo's, Thickets, and other Bushes 'till at length the Prince himself was slain by the Captain of his Lordships Life-Guard, and about three a Clock the Fight ended; the *Siammers* afterwards only continuing to hem-in that place, to prevent the escape of any that might remain alive and attempt it. There was no Quarter given to any *Macassers* in this days Fight, save only the Princes Son, a Boy of about Twelve Years, who after his Fathers fall came on undauntedly with his Lance presented at his Lordship; but drawing within reach, and perceiving his Lordship ready in the like posture to entertain him with his Lance, his Heart failed him, so that he cast away his Weapons and threw himself at his Lordships Feet, who received him with all Courtesy, and brought him unbound to his Majesty. The next day what Men and Women remained, (for many of the latter were burnt in their Houses with their children) were taken Prisoners by the *Siammers*. And thus ends the Story of the *Macassers* with their Lives: But whether the Conspiracy, wherein they were concerned, will end with them, is very much to be doubted."

Captain Udall's body was recovered and buried,[1] and his effects were sold; and, in the India Office, there is a list of them, under their respective headings, with the names of many of the purchasers. The goods are mentioned in the following order:—

"Tobacco pipes, sold in chests: hats, sausses (sauces),

[1] Captain Udall's body was carried ashore and buried in a pretty deep grave; but Alexander Hamilton records that but two days after, the ship's people going ashore, found the body unearthed, stripped of its winding-sheet, and tied upright against a tree. They reburied it under heavy stones; but on going ashore the day after, they again found it in the same position. They therefore sank it in the river. "This strange Resurrection left Room for various Conjectures, but the most probable seemed to be, that some Sorcerers took it up, and put it in that Posture, whilst they, by their Sorceries or incantations, interrogate it about future Events, and received Answers through human Organs. The Matter of Fact, I have heard often affirmed by several who were there at the Time and saw it, which made me inquire if any People in *Siam* used to inquire about future Events after that Manner, and I was told that they did."—Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 193.

sherry, charrett, perriwhigs, rennish, silk stockens, beere, mumm, brandy, corkes, cases of sperits, sack, lace, sword blades, short swords, Flint ward, gunns, and shot, sweete meets, butter; black cherry brandy: vinegar; hamms; oyle and cheese." Among the names of the purchasers of Captain Udall's goods, that of Lord Phaulkon, as Constance Falcon, occurs as the sole purchaser of the "Sausses," and as having bought "scharrett, rennish, beere, corkes, lace, and short swords." From the names mentioned in the bill of sale, it would appear that no less than eleven captains of vessels, all of them with English names, were then at Ayuthia, some of them commanding ships of their own nation, while others were in the service of the King of Siam. Among other twenty-eight purchasers there are the names of three women, wives of Englishmen, viz., Mrs. Lucas, Mrs. Lowe, and Madame Waring. The chiefs of the Dutch and of the French factories also bought some of the goods, and the Dutch Doctor, Frenchmen, and strangers are also mentioned.[1] When to these are added the servants of the French, Dutch, and Portuguese factories, and the private traders of these and of other European nations, besides the assembly of priests and Jesuits, French and Portuguese, the European population of Ayuthia must have been considerable.

The East India Company were represented by Messrs. Harbin and Gyfford, and by the Captains of their ships then present, among whom was Captain Lake of the *Prudent Mary*. This vessel had been sent to Bangkok by Sir John Child in order that her commander might look after the Company's interests. He, however, proved to be utterly unfitted for such a mission, as Harbin, who was corresponding with a Mr. George Cooke, one of his tenants at

[1] The following are the names of Captains:—Clark, Coates, Fenn, Howell, Lake, Laurence, Minchan, Rea, Russell, Udall, and Williams. The others were—Messrs. Basspoole, Bradford, Cross (George), Fisher, Fothergill, Frankling, Gyfford, Harbin, Harris, Heath, Johnson, Juxen (Charles), Morrington, Petty, Pilkington, Robson (Franc), Smith (Robert), Spence (John), Treader, Villiers, Wast, Wheadon, White (Samuel), Wortley, and Yard; and Mrs. Lucas, Lowe, and Waring.

Surat, states that Lake had been boasting at Ayuthia of General Sir John Child's power, and also of his own,[1] and of the wars they intended to make, and of their determination to seize all the English at Ayuthia and send them away in irons. This language, Harbin says, was in strong contrast to the letter from King James the Second to Phaulkon, which was "full of love and kindness," and asked his Majesty of Siam to continue his friendship; and this being known to the English, Harbin wrote to his "dear Tennant," Cooke, that they laughed the Generall to scorn, and that if he should attempt to carry out his threats, he would "certainly come happer arse," a coarse figure of speech used to express the ignominious defeat that would attend Sir John's boastful menace.

Lake also appears to have blurted out the ulterior object of his presence at Bangkok in the *Prudent Mary*, and what this was is learned from a letter written on the 14th February, 1687, by the President and Council at Fort St. George to Sir John Child at Surat, after Captain Lake's depositions, dated the 13th November, 1686, had reached them. From this letter we glean that the Company had contemplated reprisals against Siam, even before the factory at Ayuthia had been removed, and that their intentions to take such proceedings had been discovered to the Siamese by Captain Lake, contrary to his oath of secrecy,—a course

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., O.C. 5527. When Captain Lake was at Hùglì in the *Prudent Mary* in 1683, his ship was flying the pennant of an admiral, to which he was not entitled. Sir William Hedges records this in his Diary, vol. i. p. 135, and also that he ordered him to take it down, and that Captain Charles Hayward, commander of the *Henry and William*, then lying in the same harbour, was to wear the flag of an admiral to which he was entitled. Hedges says, "This Capt. Lake, being a great dissenter, and an inseparable companion of Mr. Beard's, has taken divers occasions to affront and speak ill of me behind my back, saying that nothing is done as it should be, and that he will putt the Company in a way when he goes home: and, I am told, in common discourse speaks as near Treason as he can, not to be taken hold of by the hearers. He's a base, unworthy fellow, and I hope 't will lye in their power to lett him know it." He is also described by Hedges (vol. i. p. 90) as "a great favourer of yᵉ interlopers," and that he had heard him declare that "if he did not like yᵉ Company's employment this voyage (1683), he would turne Interloper yᵉ next."

of conduct which the President and Council alleged had led the Siamese to "put a stop to all the Company's particular concerns." A proclamation was also issued by the Siamese Government that the English were henceforth to pay customs throughout the kingdom, the same as those paid by the Moors. Measures were also at once taken to render Captain Lake harmless, as a mandate went forth that he should be seized and imprisoned, and an order was given to confiscate the Company's estate.

French influence being now in the ascendancy in Siam, Phaulkon selected the Count de Forbin, commander of the fort at Bangkok, to effect the seizure of Lake. The incident is fully related in the Count's Memoirs,[1] in which he states that he was ordered to apprehend an English captain who had recently arrived in a ship armed with forty cannon, and manned by a crew of ninety men. He does not mention the captain's name; but as Lake was the only captain of an English man-of-war imprisoned at Ayuthia, in 1686, there can be no doubt he was the person whom Forbin was sent to seize. The Count relates that the reason given to him by Phaulkon for the captain's apprehension was that he had defrauded the King of a considerable quantity of goods; but in the Records of the India Office, Lake's injudicious boastings are assigned as the cause of his imprisonment which the President and Council at Fort St. George considered he richly deserved.

Forbin professed to see in this order a trap laid for his own destruction, as he was commanded to board the English ship with only two men, and, then and there to seize the captain and carry him prisoner to Louvo. He, however, resolved to execute the order to the letter; but as he foresaw that it might possibly cost him his life, if he attempted it in an open-handed manner, he determined to accomplish it by what he calls a stratagem,

[1] Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, Chef d'Escadre, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de Saint Louis, Amsterdam, 1730, tome i., pp. 199–209.

but what proved to be a despicable act of treachery, much akin to his treatment of the Macassars. Success attended his disgraceful scheme, and the unsuspecting Englishman was carried a prisoner to Louvo, where he was cast into prison, and was either murdered, or died "for want of necessary care and maintenance," under the jailorship of a "Reputed Scot," Alexander Delgardno, a servant of the King. This reputed, and disreputable Scotchman, for not many years after this he was accused of the murder of one Joseph Harrison, is said, in another account,[1] to have been "in the Service of the King of Siam (or of FAULCON, the Grand Favourite)," and to have made "Use of his arms in that Service (with some Others) for the Treacherous Seizing of Captain Lake." The President and Council at Fort St. George were informed of Captain Lake's death, not long after it had happened, and reported it to Sir John Child in a letter dated 8th March, 1686–7.

Before closing this chapter, it is necessary to notice briefly the termination of the Harbin-Gyfford mission, the departure of which from Ayuthia brought to an end a factory which had long struggled on amidst incessantly recurring difficulties, due largely to the indiscretions of the Company's servants and to their engaging in private trade to the neglect and confusion of the interests of their masters.

Harbin, like so many of his predecessors, had apparently devoted much of his energies to private trade, as will be seen from the following passages taken from his letter to Mr. George Cooke, written shortly before his departure from Siam, and in which he says:—

"It is not out of Dread of your Gene^{ll} (Sir John Child) y^{t} I leave this place, and doe not come to Suratt for God knows my heart I have not wronged him in any discourse, more than saying he was a malitious man, w^{t}ever else Prestwich his Chemeres hath reported, I declare before God is false, by my designe of going *via* Madaras is to save Monsoone wch I cannot doe by Suratt, and time is pretious to me.

[1] Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. cciv.

God has soe farr blest my endeav^{rs} here y^{t} I hope to be worth on my arrival in England 5000^{lb} had I stayed here 3 yeares longer I had done my business, but it might happen as well to be cleare in time, and effectually of ye Company's Service. Dear heart n'er stay in y^{t} cursed poor place, but come away for England as soon as you can possible, and . . . . you in 4 yeares at most a Compitent in one adventure wth me wch you shall understand by ye first safe conveyance y^{t} I can trust in, thank God I goe wth a cheerfull heart to my Own Country, wthout ye least thought of any trouble ye Gene^{lls} proceedings will put me to . . . . I will trade to Japan as much and China as ever under ye protection which they will Court him to, to cut as out of ye S^{o} Seas, and then ye King will give Commissions to ye Danes of Trincumbarr, and abundance of Straglers of all nations in Mergee, wch will take every single shipp that they meet wth belonging to ye English, and all ye English will dayly flock hither upon great incouragem^{ts}, and not vallue ye Gene^{lls} Order, or any written Proclamation. I am courted to stay here on very substantiall terms of creditt and advantage, but I rather chose to goe to England to satisfie my old relations, and be revenged on my old ffriend, ... I am just hurrying overland to Tannasseree, wch will be a quick and pleasant cutt of to Madarass, nor above 24 days or soe from whence you shall heare att large on every p'ticular on my embarquing for England.

"Yo^{r} affectionate ffriend Landlord and Servant

"ROBERT HARBIN."

The arrival at Bangkok in September, 1686, of the ship *Ruby*[1] from Masulipatam, consigned to Phaulkon, by Mr. Freeman, the chief of that factory, seems to indicate that the authorities on the Coromandel Coast were under the impression that the factory would be closed by the time

[1] Historical Abstract, p. 13.

the ship reached its destination. This, however, was not the case, as the factors did not depart for some time after the *Ruby* entered the port.

Davenport states that the arrival of this ship called forth the following letter from Samuel White:—

"May it Please your Lordship,

"The Duty I owe to my great Master, his Imperial Majesty lays me under an indispensable Obligation of Presenting to your Lordships consideration, whatsoever to me appears necessarily conducive to his Honour and Interest, and yet may perhaps in the croud of those momentous Affairs, which employ your Honours Thoughts, escape your notice; which makes me presume to tender your Honour this Remonstrance in Writing, that so it may lye by you for perusal at your more leasure hours.

"That the disaffection of the *English* Company to this Place, and their disgusts against you in particular, are as great as they are unreasonable; your Honour may plainly discover, not only from the Account lately received, of their endeavours to your prejudice in the Court of *England*, but by their withdrawing their Factory hence, and *Childs* employing such a malapert fellow as *Lake* in the business, who has the impudence to affront his Majesty in his own Port; nor can I but admire your Honours Lenity, in conniving at it; but yet I have to offer on behalf of the Company, That it may not perhaps be so much their choice, as their misfortune, to have a parcel of Servants in *India*, who make it their study to put all Places in a flame, more than to consult the advantage of their Masters, of which number *Yale* and *Freeman* are the main Incendiaries on the Coast of *Choromandel*, that endeavour to supplant your Honour, and use all probable methods to effect your downfall; as to the former, your Lordship has had sufficient demonstration of his malicious temper about the Jewel concern, by that Scurrilous Pamphlet[1] sent you, which

[1] Those interested in historical researches may yet perhaps be able to unearth a copy of this pamphlet among the Records at Madras.

he was ashamed to sign; and the latter, if thoroughly unravell'd, will not appear to fall a whit short of him in falseness or spleen: 'Tis to him his Majesty is beholden for a Protest against Captain *Coats*, &c., in the Companies behalf, for pretended dammages by his Majesties War with *Golcondah*, 'tis he that must be thanked for the re-delivery of the Treasure out of the Ship *Jerusalem*, and surrender of the Enemies Ship; and not to descend to particulars; 'tis to him his Majesty owes all the disappointment of his affair the last Year, upon the Coast; and yet after all this, he can assume the confidence to consign his Ship and Cargoe to you, I hope your Honour will not give him and the World occasion to laugh at your easiness, but make him sensible that you see through his masque, and can resent the abuse, which in this very instance he would cunningly put upon your Lordship.

"I would not have your Honour think, that I move this with an Eye to my own Revenge, for I am perfectly reconciled to him, and have resolved on a speedy course, to remit him the Ballance of his Accompt; but it is purely in due regard to his Majesties Honour, and your Lordships Reputation, that I humbly offer my Advice to detain the Ship *Rubie* and her Cargoe, until you see what the issue of these proceedings of the Company, and their hot-headed Servants, will be, which is the needful relating to this Subject, and is freely submitted to your Lordships better judgment, by My Lord,

Your Lordships most Obliged, Devoted,
and Humble Servant,

"SAMUEL WHITE."

To this letter Davenport appends—
"This aforegoing is a True Copy
of the Original."

Whether Phaulkon took any action on the strength of this letter has not been recorded, but the mention made

in it of the jewels reveals the fact that his having returned them to Elihu Yale had already given rise to a great deal of ill-feeling between the two principals in the transaction. When Harbin left Bangkok, which he did in the *Dragon*, Captain Anthony Fenn's ship, in November 1686, accompanied by Mr. Hodges, the second factor at Tonquin, he carried some further correspondence relating to the subject. The *Dragon* had arrived at Fort St. George by the 1st January, 1687.[1] Harbin on his arrival was required to answer certain complaints made against him by Sir John Child and his Council, to which he replied in writing, but was reprimanded for some disrespectful repartees in his explanation. He then, according to his already expressed intention, departed for England.

At a meeting of the Council of Fort St. George, held on the 13th of the same month, Elihu Yale, then second councillor,[2] submitted the letters about the jewels brought by Harbin from Phaulkon, and all the previous papers, affidavits, and correspondence bearing on the subject, which were read, and being found "to be agreeable to the import of the said letters," they were ordered to be sent to England by the first conveyance.

When the time for White's departure for Mergui approached, he presented Phaulkon with "six large and fair *Ruby* Rings, two curious *Saphires*, a couple of *Persian* Horses, and silver Furniture very Noble," and to her Ladyship he gave "two delicate Rubies, one Diamond Ring with five stones, and a striking Watch." She in her turn presented him with "twenty pieces Rich *Silks* and several Curiosities of superfine *China* ware." If the Persian horses and noble silver furniture were not the

[1] Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation, January 1, 1687.

[2] At the end of the Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, quoted above, and which dates from 2nd February, 1686, to 3rd February, 1687, there is a "List of Persons in the Service of the Right Honble. English East India Comp. in Fort St. George, Madrasupatam, according to their Degrees of the Rules," in which Elihu Yale is entered as "Bookeeper (married), came out a writer, June 23, 1672, 2nd Councill. (present degree), present salary £100."

creatures of Davenport's malicious imagination, the Shāh-bandar of Mergui held lordly views of living, and must have had a princely purse.

According to the Historical Abstract,[1] White's presents to his patron and to Lady Phaulkon immediately preceded the granting to him of certain proposals regarding the government of Tenasserim and Mergui, at which he had previously hinted in writing. Davenport's account of this transaction is as follows :—

White drew up "sixty distinct Articles, which he presented to the Lord *Phaulkon* for Approbation: Amongst the rest was, That no *Europe* Nation whatsoever (the *French* onely, if his Lordship saw good, excepted) should be exempted henceforward from paying the Customes of all Goods Imported, as all *Indian* Nations had been formerly us'd to do; and desired that these sixty Articles might be the standing Rules of Government in his province of *Tenassery*, which his Lordship, that could now scarce deny Mr. *White* anything, Ratify'd by signing them with his own hand. Though the power therein granted the *Shabander* was in effect unlimited, and such as rendered the Governors both of *Tenassery* and *Mergen*, no better than Cyphers, and meerly Titular Officers, notwithstanding there was for Forms sake a Commission Issu'd out in *English* under the Lord *Phaulkons* Broad Seal and delivered into Mr. *White's* Custody, which nominated and constituted the Council, who were jointly to consult about all Affairs in that Province, whether relating to the Sea or Land, in times of War or Peace, and to resolve at least the Major part of them, on whatsoever was to be done, and though the *Shabander* Mr. *White* was the last mentioned in the said Commission, as being the lowest in Rank and Title, yet by Virtue of the aforesaid Articles, the rest of the Council were so ty'd up to his opinion in all matters of moment, that in effect all the power was lodg'd in him, so that now the Government was become

[1] p. 15.

meerly Arbitary, and his pleasure to be the measure of all their proceedings."

The officers constituting the Commission or Council were the following :—*Ocya Tannaw*, *Opra Ballat*, *Olveing Incabat*, *Olvang Narine*, *Ocone Hurelay*, *Opra Marrat* (Mr. Burneby), *Olvang Chomoung* (Mr. S. White).[1]

It has been already explained that the name or office of the hereditary governor of the province does not occur in the commission, which was, therefore, undoubtedly constituted only for the administration of the two towns, and not for the affairs of the province generally, as stated by Davenport. There is the testimony, however, of Francis Heath that White, who had been invited by Phaulkon "to remain at Ayuthia with great emoluments and honours," but had declined to do so, returned to Mergui "with great respect and much larger commission than he ever had before."

Having thus amicably arranged all his affairs with Phaulkon, White left Ayuthia on the 16th October, 1686, on his return journey to Mergui, accompanied by Messrs. Heath, Leslie, and Davenport. The travellers on their way down the river met at Bangkok, on the 18th October, the ship *Phœnix* from Madras, and learned from the captain, among other news, that the East India Company intended to establish a settlement at Negrais, with the sole object of "annoying *Tenassery*."

[1] Some of the terms used for the names of the appointments seem to be obsolete, such as *Olveing Incabat* and *Ocone Hurelay*. The meanings of *Ocya Tannaw* and *Opra Marrat* have already been explained. *Olvang Narine* is evidently *Oc Louang* or *Oc Counne Narine* of De la Loubère, and means he who commands those who have care of the elephants. The designation of *Olvang Chomoung*, the appointment held by Mr. Samuel White, appears to be made up of *Ôlan*, signifying "illustrious" (Pallegoix, Dict., p. 502); *Chomoung*, or more properly *Chăo-Mŭang*, meaning the governor of a province or city (*ibid.*, Dict., p. 84). De la Loubère (p. 83) says that in maritime governments this official sometimes took customs of the merchant ships, as the Kings of Siam had done all in their power to destroy the most potent *Chăo-Mŭang*, and had substituted in their places triennial governors by commission (*op. cit.*, p. 83). Samuel White may have held one of these appointments, but his chief duties were these of *Shāhbandar* or port officer, an appointment in those days of as great importance in Siamese maritime towns, as it was in the seaports of Malay states.

From Bangkok they went in three days by boat to Kĭu, and from that village White, Heath, and Leslie posted away to Mergui in doolies, doubly manned, leaving Davenport to follow with the treasure, and arrived at their destination on the 27th October, 1686, three days before Davenport.

CHAPTER IX.

SIAMESE WAR WITH GOLCONDA.

A SHIP built in the dockyard of Mergui by command of Phaulkon was launched shortly after the Shāhbandar's return, and christened the *Resolution.*

Alexander Leslie, whose wife and family resided in the town, was appointed to the command of the vessel, and was instructed "to make the land on the coast of Gingerlee, in eighteen degrees North latitude,"[1] to prosecute the war against the King of Golconda. Arrived there, he was to proceed to a port, Chiskercol by name, and there if possible to surprise the governor, or some of the most influential inhabitants, and carrying them on board his ship, he was to offer them their liberty on what terms he thought fit. After this had been accomplished, he was to visit the ports, rivers, harbours, creeks, and bays along the coast between Chiskercol and Madras, avoiding the places where the English and Dutch had factories, and to carry on still further acts of spoliation. He was, moreover, cautioned not to consent to any cessation of hostilities if it should be represented to him that the King of Golconda intended to send his ambassador to Siam; but if this news should reach him, he was to issue a passport for the safe conveyance of

[1] Gingerlee or Gyngerlee is "the name by which the Telinga coast above Masulipatam is generally known in the records of the seventeenth century." Yule in Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. cclxxxiv. By Père Tachard it was called Gergelim. It is possible that this name may have been applied to it from its having produced large quantities of the oil of *Sesamum indicum*, the trade name of which in these days was Gingeli, Gingelly, Gergelim, &c. Consult Yule-Burnell Glossary, art. *Gingeli.*

the ambassador to Mergui, where he would be received "according to his quality." At the end of the north-east monsoon he was to proceed to Pondicherry to take on board any letters, packets, or goods that General F. Martin and M. Delandres might have for him, and then to return to Mergui.

The part of this order enjoining on Captain Leslie to abstain from hostilities in those places where the English and Dutch had factories, was probably the result of White's influence at court, as Francis Heath states that the Shāhbandar had sent a remonstrance to Phaulkon, in September, 1686, which he had seen, and in which he impressed on the Minister the importance of taking great care in the management of the war, so that no injury might happen to the Company's affairs. He was also quite alive to the invidious position in which the East India Company was placed, by Englishmen being the leading spirits of the navy of the King of Siam, in the war against the King of Golconda, and he told Phaulkon that the Company might take it amiss that Englishmen should be so employed, and he warned him that if the King of England recalled his subjects from the service of the King of Siam, not one Englishman would disobey the order of his "native sovereign."

Mergui, being under an English governor and port-officer, was the haven to which many a disappointed Englishman, who had failed to better his fortune at Ayuthia, betook himself when he found he had no chance of competing with the French, then in the ascendant at the capital. Nathaniel Russell, who arrived at Mergui at this time from Ayuthia, was one of these disappointed men. The only interest attached to him is that he was accompanied by his "Lady," probably the first Englishwoman to cross the Malayan peninsula from Ayuthia to Mergui, as we have no information how Mesdames Lucas, Lowe, and Waring went to the capital.

Just as the *Resolution* was about to sail, news reached

Mergui that a mission, with letters and presents from the King of Siam and Phaulkon to Louis XIV., was on its way overland from Ayuthia. It arrived in a few days, "accompanied by the usual state of the country music;" but as the French ship which was to have carried the presents to Pondicherry had sailed, they were placed on board the *Resolution*, and Captain Leslie was instructed to take them direct to Pondicherry, to hand them over to the authorities there, and while doing so to fire a salute of twenty-one guns. He set sail some time in December, accompanied by the *Jerusalem*, a vessel which had been given to Phaulkon by the King, and had been re-named the *Saint John*. It carried a cargo of sappan-wood belonging to the Minister, and "Allome," (alum) the property of White, and was consigned to the French at Pondicherry.

The *Dorothy*, under the command of Captain Cropley, was also dispatched shortly afterwards to co-operate with the *Resolution*, and to proceed to Saint Thomé, and on his arrival there he was to inform the President and Council at Madras that he had a message for them from the King. Davenport states that the message was to the following effect: that Cropley had been ordered by the King to represent to them "the great abuses *M. Elihu Yale* had put upon him in the Jewel Affair, as also the affronts done him by the Companies Servants in his own Royal City, To certifie them of his Majesties kindness for sixty years past to the said Company, and that satisfaction being made by Mr. *Yale*, the Lord Treasurer would pay the *Persian* fraight, and release whatsoever he had hitherto detained of theirs, willing them, if they had any Grievances to complain of (though he knew of none) that they would send over two Gentlemen fully impowered to treat with his Majesties Ministers of State, and they might expect all the justice they could desire, but if they slighted this proposal, his Majesty had no reason to Court their Friendship."

When the news of the arrival of the *Resolution* and the *St. John* off the coast of Madras reached Fort St. George, it was resolved[1] that, in pursuance of his Majesty's commission to the Company, and their order to the Council to use every endeavour "to reprize their losses," that the *Rebecca* and the *Dragon* should go in pursuit of the Siamese ships. Captain Fenn of the *Dragon*, however, declared that his ship, which had just returned from Bangkok, could not go, as the crew was mutinous and had refused to weigh anchor; while Captain Batten of the *Rebecca* wrote to the Council that he could not undertake so hazardous an exploit as to follow the two ships singly. The enterprise was therefore for the time abandoned.

The rumour regarding the Company's proposed settlement at Negrais, which had been communicated to White, on his way down the Menam, by the captain of the *Phœnix*, doubtless referred to the expedition which had been fitted out in England, in 1685, to proceed to the Bay of Bengal. It consisted of ten ships, commanded by Captain Nicholson, with the rank of Vice-Admiral. Its chief object was to be the seizure of Chittagong,[2] but one of its subordinate aims was to retaliate on the King of Siam for losses the Company asserted they had suffered at his hands. The hostilities against him were to be continued until he should cede a station at Mergui,[3] at which a fort or settlement was to be established as a seat of trade, in case the fleet did not succeed in capturing Chittagong.

As a report had also reached White from Madras that the Company intended to seize Negrais, and to appoint Thomas Yale, the brother of Elihu Yale, the future President of Madras, to be governor, he at once determined, if possible, to forestall them and to seize the place for the King of Siam. He accordingly dispatched two sloops commanded by Captain Cropley, along with twenty *Lulongs* or Siamese soldiers, and ample provisions and stores for twelve

[1] Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 3rd January, 1687.
[2] Bruce's Annals, vol. ii. p. 560. [3] *Ibid.*, 572.

months. The commander of the soldiers to be left to hold the place, was instructed to run up his flag whenever he saw any ship appear, and in order that there might be no misunderstanding to whom the place belonged, he was provided with a placard or notice in Portuguese[1] declaring that the place belonged to the King of Siam.

This expedition of White's was recalled in the following February, by Phaulkon's orders, and condemned by him as having endangered the peace of the kingdom.

As time advanced, the relations between the Government of Siam and the President and Council at Fort St. George were very strained, owing chiefly to Coates' hostile proceedings at Masulipatam, which the Company alleged had very seriously injured their trade, which was now at a very low ebb, owing to a severe famine that had prevailed at Madras in the end of 1686 and beginning of 1687. So great indeed was the distress then existing, that Davenport advised White to send a ship with rice for the relief of the garrison.

A rumour that the East India Company were meditating hostilities against Siam appears to have reached Phaulkon even as early as November, 1686, and he seems to have suspected that they contemplated striking a blow at Mergui, and at the shipping issuing from that port, because in the following month he ordered White to store certain of the King's goods in the Clongs[2] at Tenasserim for safety, and to postpone sending out the ship which went annually to Mocha in the Red Sea. White, however, considered that Phaulkon was needlessly alarmed, and although according to Davenport, he believed that Elihu Yale had malice enough to do whatever he could to the prejudice of the King and Phaulkon, he could not credit that he would be so rash as to break into open hostility without an order

[1] When, in 1687, Captain Weltden surveyed Negrais, and took possession of it, hoisting the English colours, and erecting an inscription of his proceedings on tin, he found and destroyed some Siamese inscriptions and huts. Oriental Repertory, vol. i., 1793, p. 103.

[2] Probably a corruption of *Hong* or *Hang*, a warehouse or factory.

from England, which could not reach Fort St. George until the next year. He therefore disregarded Phaulkon's warning, and dispatched, in January, three ships, two apparently on his own account, and one conjointly for himself and the King. One was sent to Mocha, another to Acheen, and a third to Pondicherry; but he had the misfortune to lose them all, as they were seized by the Company's men-of-war; and it was the great pecuniary losses he sustained by the capture of these vessels that led him, on his return to England in 1688, to petition Parliament for the redress of his wrongs.

The fate of these three vessels may be recorded at this stage of this narrative. The ship sent to Mocha was the *Satisfaction*, commanded by William Rand.[1] The merchandise on board the vessel, valued by White at £7800, and solemnly affirmed by him to belong solely to himself, was placed under the charge of his assistant, Mr. William How, already mentioned in this history. There being now no factory at Ayuthia, and none at Mergui, where there never had been one, although it has been stated by more than one writer that the Company had a factory at the latter town, an error doubtless arising from the presence in it of Burneby and White, William How was furnished with a letter explaining that the owner of the cargo, Samuel White, being resident in the kingdom of Siam, and thus far removed from the Company's garrisons, had not been able to procure a pass from the Company for the protection of his ship the *Satisfaction*.

The vessel sailed on the 6th January, and arrived safely at Mocha[2] on the 30th April, 1687. After the cargo had been discharged and made over to the care of William How on shore, the ship, while the goods were being sold at Mocha, was sent to a place about five leagues distant to take in a quantity of salt.

[1] He is occasionally called Rann.

[2] The facts regarding the capture of the vessel are taken from White's petition.

On the 25th May, Captain Jonathan Andrews, in the *Charles the Second*, arrived at Mocha "in the equipage of an Admiral of His Majesty's Fleet, wearing the Union Flagg at the Main Topmost head." On the arrival of the man-of-war the news was at once communicated to the captain by Mr. How, who wrote,[1] "Some that have been a board the ship brings word ashore that there was noe warrs between the English and Syam," and consequently that the admiral could not interfere with the *Satisfaction* or her affairs. How communicated this report to Captain Rand, but doubted its reliability, so much so, that his advice to the captain was to have his ship provided with wood, water, and provisions, and to get in the salt and what ballast he needed as fast as possible, and to have all his people on board. He also warned him that his belief was that those who were found ashore would be seized if they had not the Company's pass, and that it was his intention to join the *Satisfaction* in a few days. How's suspicions of the probable action of the admiral with regard to the *Satisfaction* and himself had been aroused by a letter[2] he had received signed "Your unknown," in which he was told "that our zealous Generall," Sir John Child, "is much offended with his Excellency at Syam, and breathes out nothing but destruction against him and all that adhere to him, he is resolved to send the Charles, Cap. Andrew Commander to Mocha, but his designe is to seize on all Englishmen, and what belongs to his Majesty of Syam. Be vigillant for your owne preservation and true to your trust and bee not wheedled either by the Company's Commander or any belonging to him. They will endeavour all the ways I imagine to betray you and your concerns (and shew you out the King's proclamation) But make leaden performances the best way is to keep at a distance and not to

[1] Letter dated Mocha, 26th May, 1687. Ind. Off. Rec.

[2] This letter was directed to the Chiefe of the English on board the King of Siam's shipps at Mocha, but bore no date. Ind. Off. Rec.

goe out of the port till the Companys ship are gon: I desire this may be published among yourselves, But let not any belonging to the Companies have its coppy. Gentlemen I have not more to ad, but wish you all prosperity and remain

"YOUR UNKNOWN."

The warnings contained in this letter were of no avail, as Captain Andrews sent his barge ashore with several armed men and seized Mr. How, and Mr. Wortley, the purser of the *Satisfaction*, who were carried prisoners on board the *Charles the Second.* The admiral then went himself ashore with the "King's Flagg" carried before him, and fixed it on the house which How had been inhabiting, and in which the goods of the *Satisfaction* were stored. He next sent two boats with armed men to find out where the *Satisfaction* was, and soon discovering the ship, they proceeded to seize it. In White's petition it is stated that "tho' there was not the least resistance made, by the use of Weapons, nor any other defence, save the mens shutting themselves into their close quarters, yet at the first entering of my Ship, they fired thirty or forty Pistols, and therewith mortally wounded the Master Mr. *William Rand,* whom with the rest they carried Prisoner on board the *Charles the Second*, where after nine days languishing he dyed, and was used by Captain *Andrews* with that barbarous cruelty, that his earnest request of but having a friend admitted to speak with him a few hours before he expired was denied him." The vessel was taken to Bombay and confiscated, on the ground that it had not a Company's pass, the original charge against it that it belonged to the King of Siam having been withdrawn.

The ship sent to Acheen was the "*Derrea Dowlet,*"[1] commanded by Captain Nathaniel Russell, the English-

[1] White's Petition and the Statement of his Case.

man who had gone to Mergui from Ayuthia with his lady, not having been able to find any employment at the capital. This ship, according to White, belonged to the King of Siam, and he had been ordered to load it with a variety of merchandise, and had received permission to send with it a considerable quantity of rice and liquor on his own account, which he consigned to his servant, William Mallett, he who had been associated with Coates in his warlike acts against the King of Golconda, and who accompanied the ship. White goes on to say that no sooner had Russell and his companions "arrived at *Port*, and began to dispose of the Cargo in *April* /87, but Captain *Consett* came thither in the *Berkley Castle*, wearing his *Majesties Colours*, and took the said Ship, and tho my Factor did then manifest unto him my aforesaid Concern by Invoice and Orders, and made demand accordingly; yet would he not be prevailed with to restore the least part thereof, but violently seized on all, whereby I am damnified, the amount of 1838*l*. as besides my own Oath, I can prove by the Testimony of others."

The third ship dispatched by White was the *Mary*. This vessel sailed to Pondicherry with a small cargo of copper, his own property, consigned to M. Delandres, son-in-law of the governor, François Martin; but the real object of the vessel's voyage to the Coromandel Coast was to obtain news regarding the *Resolution* and *St. John*, about which the Shāhbandar was becoming anxious, as he had heard nothing about them since they had left. The *Mary*, however, was captured by Captain Batten shortly after it appeared off the coast of India, and property of White's to the value of £400 was confiscated, and he states that when this was done war had not been declared by the Company against Siam.

Another mission to Persia from the King of Siam was again on the *tapis* in January, 1687, and Phaulkon ordered White to prepare a ship to carry "two of the King of Syams

Colwans[1] to Gombroone," and that the vessel was to be supplied with a French pilot, and a pass from the French chief at Ayuthia. To this the Shāhbandar replied that it was impossible to carry out the order, as he had neither men nor a ship to send, and further, that there was not one Frenchman in the service of the King of Siam capable to take any office in a ship, much less to be a pilot.

A ship, however, which might have been employed on this voyage, if White had been inclined to assist in forwarding the King's messengers, arrived at Mergui on the 20th February. It was none other than Captain Cropely's vessel, the *Dorothy*, re-named the "*Mergen Frigate.*" It brought news seemingly proving that Phaulkon's anticipations of a rupture with the East India Company were likely to be fulfilled. The report was that the Company intended ere long to make demands on the King of Siam for the damages they and the merchants under their protection had received from the rash and unwarrantable proceedings of Lord Phaulkon, his Chief Minister of State, and that they were much disgusted also with White, for having been so active an instrument in the injuries they had received.

It would appear that, shortly before this report reached White, he had been invited by Phaulkon to go to Ayuthia to live with him, and now that dangers seemed to be closing round him, he began to ask himself whether it would not be better to throw himself on the King's protection before the arrival of an English ship. But then the insecurity attending residence at a native court suggested to his mind whether some other course of action for his own safety would not be possible. The following three lines of conduct occurred to him—first, to remain on at Mergui, and purchase his reconciliation with the Company by betraying his trust and surrendering the port

[1] This is probably the *Caloangs* of De La Loubère, officials whom the King usually sent into the Provinces upon Commissions, whether ordinary or extraordinary. *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

to them; second, to fortify the place and defend it against the Company; or, third, so to arrange his affairs that he would not fall into the Company's clutches, and then proceed to Europe.

About this time the highest personage in England was also contemplating the possibility of Burneby and White being brought to act as traitors to their master, the King of Siam, as King James the Second actually wrote to them himself, and suggested that they should betray their trust to the King of Siam, and hand Mergui over to the English; but more of this anon.

White in his difficulty was unable to consult with Governor Burneby, as they were at complete variance in all their aims in life. White was an energetic man, as we have seen, fond of trade, and evidently determined to amass money, but not very scrupulous in the means to which he resorted to attain this end. Burneby, on the other hand, seems to have given himself up in his old age to sloth, drinking, and immorality, if Davenport's account of White's estimate of him is to be accepted, *viz.*, that he was "fit to converse with no body but his Crim. *Catwall*,[1] and take delight in being the Town Pimp, and disposing of all the Whores to any body that wants one, or keeps company with a parcel of Sailors, that over a Bowl of Punch, will lye worshipping him up, till he thinks himself a Petty Prince among them, and in the meantime near minds the main chance, nay, he's so soft a fellow, as to let his own Servants cheat him to his face, and run away with the Perquisites of his Office; for I my self have offered him Fifty *Cattees* a year, for that he never made Five *Cattees* of, since he came to the place, and to tell him a secret is the same thing, as to publish it about the Town with a Drum, or take a Woman into Council."

The result of White's deliberations seem to have been that he resolved to proceed to Europe if any occasion should arise for his sudden departure from Mergui.

[1] *Cotwal* or *Kotwāl*, a policeman.

In April, 1687, news reached Mergui that Captain Nicholson, admiral of the Company's fleet in the Bay of Bengal, had seized the *Revenge*, belonging to the King of Siam. The capture of this vessel is recorded in an English newspaper[1] of the time, the information having been received, to use the parlance of the present day, from its war-correspondent in the Bay of Bengal. The letter is dated 24th November, 1686, and says, "The English had stopped a ship of war belonging to the King of Siam, which had gone into Balasor to be repaired. They had pressed and dissipated the ship's Company, consisting of about 70 Europeans, seizing the commander, Captain English, who was sent prisoner to Fort St. George to answer several misdemeanours he had committed." The mention of the commander's name identifies the captured vessel as the *Revenge*. After it had been seized it was removed to Balasor, and used in May 1687, along with several small ships, to guard the island of Hijili, where the Company's servants and soldiers were then beleaguered, and to receive them if they should be driven out of their defences, but there it "grounded upon a Sand by the way, Oversett and Billedged, and the men had no sooner Left her than the Enemy on the other side possessed her."[2]

About the same time as the news of the capture of the *Revenge* reached White at Mergui, he received letters from his friends at Fort St. George informing him that the Company had sent out positive orders that war was to be made on the King of Siam. All this information he at once communicated to Phaulkon and to the Privy Council at Ayuthia. In doing so, he stated that he believed this most undeserved rupture had been instigated by the malicious reports of enemies to their own country and to the affairs of Siam. He therefore recommended that a fitting person should be sent by the King of Siam to the King of England,[3] to place before him a true account of

[1] London Gazette, No. 2270, 18th August to 22d August, 1687.
[2] Diary of Sir William Hedges, vol. ii. p. lxvii.
[3] The Case of Samuel White.

the affairs of the two nations, in order, if possible, to prevent a war. White states that he was selected to carry out this mission, and that he received orders to proceed to England. As there was no ship of the King's in the port at that time suited for such a long voyage, he determined to take his own ship, the *Resolution*, and consequently, according to his instructions, he commenced to load the vessel with cargo and provisions, as he was to be in readiness to start so soon as he received a letter from the court, and the presents intended for the King of England and his Royal Consort.

In Davenport's account there is no mention of this mission, but according to him, White was, as he says, loading the ships with his own effects, in order that he might be ready to escape at any time. This proceeding excited the curiosity and wonder of the natives, as it was quite unusual to load vessels in April, just before the south-west monsoon, when no vessel ever left for sea.

The intention of the Company to effect reprisals on the vessels of the King of Siam and on those of his subjects, had not yet been officially communicated to the Siamese Government, but orders had been already given to the naval commanders to take and seize any of the Moors' ships from Bengal or Surat, or belonging to any of the Mogul's subjects, or any ships of the King of Siam, the reason assigned for this action being that these states had embarrassed the Right Honourable Company's interests, and had inflicted on them many injuries. The commanders were also, in accordance with his Majesty's proclamation, to board any foreign vessel they met, to ascertain if any of his Majesty's subjects were on them, contrary to the proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to serve any foreign prince or state.[1] All that were found were

[1] This proclamation, which not only forbade any of his Majesty's (James II.) subjects from taking employment under any foreign princes in the East, but also recalled any who had done so was drawn up

"to be taken forth," and the captains of the ships on which they were discovered were to be forced to pay to them whatever wages they might be entitled to. They were also by their commissions empowered to search *private men-of-war* or any suspicious ships, and if they found English goods, arms, or provisions on them, the possession of which could not be satisfactorily accounted for, all such vessels were to be taken to Fort St. George, to be proceeded against in the Admiralty Court. They had also stringent orders given them regarding the action they were to take against interlopers. If they met with any ships, whether they were "his Majesty's subjects or foreigners of this country," that had not an English pass from some of the Right Honourable Company's presidents, agents, or chiefs, they were to seize them and take them to Madras Roads.

It was on the strength of this proclamation that the *Satisfaction*, *Derrea Dowlet*, and *Mary* were seized by the ships of the East India Company.

Job Charnock in Bengal was informed by the authorities of Madras, in a letter dated 18th April, 1687, that they intended to send the frigate *Curtana* to Tenasserim, under the command of Captain Anthony Weltden,[1] to clear that port of Siamese men-of-war, and to call all the English from thence. Owing to the action that immediately followed this letter, it is evident that the President and his Council at Fort St. George had neither received from Phaulkon any promise of compensation on account of Captain Coates' attack on Masulipatam and Madapollam, nor for the other injuries they complained of. They, therefore, resolved to repay themselves for their losses by declaring actual hostilities against Siam.

The expedition that was to proceed to Tenasserim and

at a Council held at Windsor on the 11th July, 1686, and was referred to the Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, and one of H.M. principal Secretaries of State, to be prepared and published.

[1] His name has frequently been misspelled Weldon, Welldon, Wallden, and Waldon. It is correctly given in the text.

Mergui was actively prepared, and in view of its early departure the following documents were drawn up and handed to Captain Weltden of the *Curtana,* to be delivered by him on his arrival at Mergui.

The first is their letter recalling the English in Siam:—

"To Mr. John Richard Burnaby Gouernor. and Mr. Saml. White Shabandr. att Morgen for the King of Syam, and to all other Englishmen his Matie. the King of Englands Subjects residing there and att Syam:

"Whereas your Selves and many other his Majties. the King of England's Subjects are att present in the actuall Service of the King of Syam wee the Presidt. and Councell of Fort St. Georg for affaires of the Rt. Honrble. English East India Compa. doe, by vertue of his Matie. the King of Englands Royall proclamation (wch. wee have ordered to bee delivered you), and his Rt. Honrble. East India Compas. orders recall you and every one of you from the service of the sd. King of Syam and pticularly by name the persons here undermentioned viz., Att Mergen Richard Burnaby Saml. White Edward Tutie Francis Davenport John Turner John Carter, Alexander Leslie, Edward Salter Wm. How Phineas Bruster Lamben Phillip: John Himmens, George Alexander. John Grant. John Threder. John Croply. Thomas Higgs. John Carpenter Richd. Carr. Easson William Starck. Isaac . . . Thomas Taylor . . . . Goodwin.

"Att Siam, Nathaniel. Russell Williams Smithies Jourden Wm. Mallet. Pilkington Dellon. Ralph Lambton Verstcken naturalised Howell, Job Baskpool Cutburd Milbourn, Willson John Chappell Franklin Kiddall Humphry Yard. Wm. Michin [1] Bland Jonathan Wainright. Bennet, Wm. Bradford. Joseph Herne. Clarke. Nat. Russell. Briggs Edwd.

"And wee requer every of you to repaire aboard the

[1] Mrs. Thomas Minchin, who was at Pondicherry in 1687, applied to Fort St. George for leave to join her husband in Siam, but was not permitted to do so, as no English were allowed to go to Siam that year. I suspect that this lady's husband was William Minchin, and that Mrs. Thomas was written by mistake.

Curtana Frigatt, Cap. An^{to} Welden Command^{r}, with ye King of Englands Commission (who we have sent for that purpose) and you are further to bee aiding and assisting to the s^{d} Capt for the obtaining satisfaction of the King of Syam for the Injuries damages and losses the s^{d} R^{t} hon^{r} English East India Comp^{a} ourselves and the Inhabitants of this Ci^{t}y of Madras sustain'd by Constant Faulcon, Cheife minister of State to the s^{d} King according to a Commission directed to him from his Matie the King of England wch requiers him to follow w^{t} orders hee shall receive from us and our orders to him, to take satisfaction for the s^{d} damages. If it be not done by fair: means and alsoe concerning you that hee should bring all of you away from ye King of Syams Country and service to reside here att Fort St George, in the service of the R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{a} to bee subject to all their hono^{rs} rules and orders till you shall bee disposed to goe for England and if you or any of you, the psons above mentioned, att the Fort of Mergin shall refus to give obedience to his s^{d} Maj^{tie} of England Royall Proclamation and Commission, and these our lawfull summons soe as not to leave ye s^{d} King of Syams service; and repaire aboard the Curtana Frigatt wthin 30 days after publication hereof and alsoe if you or any of you att Syam or y^{t} are att present gone upon Voyages doe not take the first opportunity to leave the King of Syams Service and repair hither to Fort St George, Wee doe make this our lawfull protest (in the name of his Matie the King of England and his R^{t} Honble East India Comp^{y}) against you and every or any of you his Matie the King of Englands Subjects (that shall soe refuse) for contempt of his s^{d} Maties Royall proclamation, and the rules and orders of his s^{d} R^{t} honr^{ble} East India Comp^{a}, as alsoe for all damages, losses detrem^{ts} or inconveniences w^{t} soev^{r} that his s^{d} Matie the King of England or his R^{t} honr^{ble} East India Comp^{a} shall hereafter sustaine thereby for wch you are to bee prosecuted in his Maties courts of Judicature as Interlopers and Rebellious persons, staying

and Trading in India, contrary to his s^{d} Maties Royall proclamation and his s^{d} R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{as} orders besides yor gaining his Maj^{tie} high displeasure for the same dated in Fort St George this 25th day of April 1687 according to the computation of the Church of England.

William Gyfford.
Elihu Yale.
Thomas Lucas.
John Nicks.
John Gray.
Thomas Wavell.
Na. Higginson.
John Cheney."

The second document was addressed to Phaulkon, as follows:—

"The Presid^{t} and Councell of Fort St George (in the behalfe of the R^{t} honr^{ble} English East India Comp^{a}) their demands of the honr^{ble} Constant Faullcon (Chiefe minister of State to his Matie the King of Syam) for damages done the R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{a} our selves their Serv^{ts} and the Inhabitants of the Citty of Madrass und^{r} our protection and our declaration for reprisells till full satisfaction bee obtained *viz.*

		att g^{a}
The R^{t} honrb^{le} Comp^{as} demands in a paper a part p^{o} a g^{o} in P^{a} 54,148 : 08 .		£24,366 : 14
Ffor Persia bills money lent here and flintwarep	8,751 : 02	
Ffor charges of sending sloop Thomas to Metchlep^{a} w^{h} souldiers upon hir to secure the R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{as} concernes and our people from Injury by Mr Coates when hee made warr upon y^{m} there	700 : —	
Ffor w^{t} through Coates his hostillity att Metchlp^{a} ye R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{a} was damaged for Interest of 53326 : 20 : 2 in goodes y^{t} could not goe home by the Defence Jan^{ry} 30th 85 but were forced to ly by till the departure of the Kempthorne which was the 5th 8ber 86 besides other future accidents by the disappointment	4,264	

For freight of Elliphants from Tenassaree and of the Syam Embassd^{r} from hence on acc^{t} of the Owners of the ship Asiampourna 5200 p^{s} w^{h} Interest of 2,200 p^{s} for 3 years and 3,000 p^{s} for 2 years to this tyme the 25th of Aprill 87 . .	6,512
For w^{t} our Pegu merch^{ts} was robd of 5158 p^{s} w^{h} Interest for 2 years . . .	6,396
For severall Englishmen's estates stopt .	20,000
For Curtana Frigatts demorage for 8 m^{os} att 4^{l} 5^{s} p. diem sent to make these demands	2,266
	103,038
In w^{t} Joseph Denmarkan Inhabitant here demands for loss of his shipps and goodes wch were noe lawfull prise hee being noe subject to the King of Golcondah butt a merch^{t} stranger and as before an Inhabitant of this place the pticulars of his demands are viz.	
His great ship with all her furniture .	10,000
The ladings of s^{d} ship	6,000
Rubies they stole to ye vallue of . .	9,000
His small ship they tooke att Narsapoor	5,000
For w^{t} hee was robb'd of att Metchlep^{m} and the money the Governo^{r} took from him about Coate his business . . .	10,000
	40,000

all wch damages amounting to upwards of £65,000 wee the Presid^{t} and Councell of Fort St George for the affaires of the R^{t} Honr^{ble} East India Comp^{a} doe hereby declare that wee will by way of reprisalls make the R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{a} &c^{a} full satisfaction upon his Matie the King of Syams shipps or the shipps of his subjects wherever wee can meet wth them leaving the s^{d} King to demand satisfaction of honr^{ble} Constant Faulcon (his cheife minister of State) for his ill managem^{t} of the s^{d} King's affaires wch has given us this provocation and necessitates us to take this course for Justice wch has been often deneyed us at Syam and wee doe further declare that whttever we shall soe reprise ourselves of a true acc^{t} thereof shall be kept to bee rendered to his s^{d} Matie the King of Syam whenever his Matie shall please to impower any person to

come to acct. wth. us in behalfe of the Rt. Honrble. East India Compa. &a. and that after wee have receḍ. full satisfaction (for our present and future just demands) wee shall noe more molest any of his sd. Maties. Shipps, or the Shipps of his subjects dated in Fort St. George the 25th. of Aprill 1687.

(Signed again by the same persons as the previous document.)

The third document was the letter—

"To his Imperiall Matie.
The King of Syam.

"Fort St. George, *ye. 25th. Aprill* 1687.

"May it please yor. Matie.

"Wee presume to make these our humble. addresses hopeing your Matie. injoyes pfect health and all manner of prosperity, wch. wee shall ever more rejoyce to heare that wee may att all Tymes particepate of your Maties. favour and friendship: though some differences att present have most unhappyly fal'n out, wch. your Matie. will more plainly understand by the contents of this Lrē wch. has caused the Rt. honrble. East India Company our Rt. honrble. Masters; (wch. much troubles us), to comand us to take any of your Maties. or subjects shipps or goodes by way of reprisall (till full satisfaction bee made) on acct. of above 65000£ Sterl. wch. is upwards of rups. 500000 damage done them and their Servts. and the inhabitants of ys. place. An acct. whereof wee have ordered to bee remitted to the honrble. Constant Faulcon (your cheife Minister of State) and therefore in obedience to their honrs. Comands wee have now sent too shipps of warr to stop up your Mties. Fort of Mergin and to secure all the shipps in said Port but not to make seizure till they knowe your Maties. Pleasure whether your Maties. will make the Rt. honrble. Compa. &ca. satisfaction for sd. damages for wch. our Comandr. is order'd by us to awaite your Maties. leasure therein 60 dayes. for wee desier your Matie. to bee assured that wee should very unwillingly give your Matie. this Trouble but that wee have noe other

way to informe your Matie of our agreveances in wt wt has passt and of the ill managemt of yor Maties affaires and who ever have been the occation of itt alone ought to suffer. for though wee beleive itt has never till now come to your Maties knowledge yet the Rt honrble Compa &a have suffer'd many intollerable injuries and great indignities and although the Rt Honrble Compa and our selves have made many addresses to your Matie to have the same remidied yet wee believe they were allways intercepted from your Maties receiption since noe notice has been taken there of or Justice done us as formerly and till the Rt Honrble Compa and our selves may bee admitted to have an imediate adress to your Matie by Lrs itt is impossible that there should ever bee a right understanding between us, wch above all things wee most heartily desier being well satisfied in your Maties goodness and generosity to all people, especially of your Maties good inclinations to our English nation in pticular wch makes us extreamly sorry that there has been any ill Instrumts to impede our everlasting mutuall friendship and heartily wish that noe such may bee countenanced for the future, and soe wee pray the Allmighty to give your Matie longe life wth encrease of your Dominions and all happiness in the world to come, being we are

"Imperiall Matie &c."

(Signed as before.)

The fourth and last document was the letter:—

"To the Raja Governor of Tenassaree.

"FORT Sr GEORGE 25 *Apl* 1687.

"Haveing heard much of your greate fame and prevailing Interest wth his Matie the King of Syam wee have presumed to send to your care enclosed Lre to his Matie not knoweing any other way of conveyance to him and there fore wee desier you to take greate care that itt may come directly to his Maties receiption because wee would willingly have the great Injuries that the Rt honrble

Comp^{a} and others und^{r} our protection have suffered come to his Maties knowlege wch hitherto has not, not wthstanding the R^{t} honr^{ble} Comp^{a} and our selves have severall Tymes made adresses to his Matie to have them remidted: and therefore itt is that we are comanded by the R^{t} honr^{ble} East India Comp^{a} our R^{t} honr^{ble} Masters to block up the Port of Mergin and give them and you this Trouble if you doe not comply wth our Just demands in 60 day's Tyme wch when his Matie comes to have a right understanding of the occation and provocation given: noe doubt but hee will give us all due satisfaction and prevent all misunderstandings betweene us for the future: and soe wishing you all happiness and prosperity we remaine

"Your assured Loveing Friends and Serv^{ts}[1]

(Signed as before.)

On the 6th May, 1687, the *Royal James* arrived at Madras from the west coast of Sumatra, with letters from the Court to Fort St. George, and from a minute of 9th May, 1687, in which these letters are mentioned, it would appear that the Court had placed the prosecution of the war with the King of Siam under Sir John Child at Surat, and had taken it entirely out of the hands of the President and Council at Madras. The latter, however, resolved to carry out their designs, for the following reasons, *viz.*, that before the receipt of the Court's letters the *Curtana* had been ordered to proceed to Mergui, and everything had been prepared for its so doing: moreover, they thought it absolutely necessary for the Right Hon. Company's advantage that the vessel should proceed as intended; and besides the season did not admit of their consulting with Surat, which made them unwilling to lose any present advantages. The President and Council therefore adhered to their designs against the King of Siam, and against Mergui in particular, and accordingly

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., JJ. b. 2. 2.

ordered Captain Weltden, on 31st May, to prepare to sail for Mergui, accompanied by the sloop *James*, and armed with the following instructions:—

You are "to sett salye bending your course for the speediest attaining of the Port of Mergin, in the Kingdom of Syam, as neare as you can out of Comand of their Gunns, where when it shall please God to arrive you, you are first to secure all ye King of Syams or his servts or Subjects shipps in that Port for hostages for ye Present and alsoe not only to secure but to seize upon any of ye Mogull shipps or his Subjects (or any English ship that you shall find theire without an English pass, or contrary to his Maties Proclamation). and then goe yourselfe in your boat if you thinck convenient wth a white flag of Truce in her bow to ye Governor and Shabandr of Mergin (who are two Englishmen, viz. Mr Richard Burnaby Governor and Mr Samll White Shabandr who have itt in charge for the King of Syam) or lett some principall p'son if you goe not your selfe (and three or four of the Boates Crew (who are to be yr most understanding psons you have) and alsoe one of your Mates or Purser receive of you his Maties Royal Proclamation (wch we have herewth delivered you) and bee directed to publish and deliver ye same to ye Governor and Shabandr of Mergin and to witness (at the bottome of the Proclamation) ye time of ye publication and delivery thereof to them; takeing a coppie of the sd originall Proclamation and wch the witnesses have theron enpresst and the same alsoe to be witnessed to be a True coppie of ye sd Originall in print and then Charge them (in the name of his Matie of England King James the 2nd and by Verture of sd Maties Royall Proclamation and Charter, to leave the King of Syam's Service and come aboard your ship for Fort St George according to our order to them directed and for that purpose wee would also have you deliver ym the Declaration signed by us (given to you herewth) publishing the same by sound of Trumpet or beat of Drum and charge them alsoe (as per contents of sd

papers that they cause all other his Matie of England's Subjects in that place (whose names we have inserted in sd paper and all others that wee cant nominate to doe the same (upon their own perill), paying themselves and ym (out of the King of Syams revenues that may bee in their possession) wt ever shall bee due to them upon acct of their wages or Sallary and to deliver wt they have more of ye King of Syams in their Possession either money or goodes for sattisfaction of ye Kings debts to ye Rt honrble Compa &ca and if the sd Governor or Shabandr or any of his sd Maties Subjects shall reffuse to yeild obedience to his Maties Royall Proclamation a for: sd wthin 30 days wee have protested against ym in the aforesd paper (the delivery of wh Summons and protest and ye Tyme of Publication must bee witnested) and besides that you are to demand of them satisfaction for ye damages the Rt honrble East India Compa our selves and the inhabitants of this citty of Madras susteined by Constant Faulcon (Chiefe minister of State to ye King of Syam) as p. pticulars herewth delivered you (including our declaration for reprisalls till we have full Satisfaction) wch is to bee given to them wee alsoe deliver you here wth the Originall and coppie of our Lre to his Matie the King of Syam, wch coppie in Portuguez and Persian Language you are to cause to be published to the Syamers Governors of Mergin and Tenassaree: and if they understand not These languages you must gett them Translated into the Syam language and then publish itt to the sd Governors and afterwards the Originall to the Syam Governor of Tenassaree called Raja who you will find att Mergin to whome we alsoe wrote to send itt to his sd Matie the King of Syam, and whatever yourselfe or these psons you shall employe upon this message doe act in these pticulars let itt be put in writing (and your and their hands) and authentick coppies thereof bee brought us togeather wth the originalls, and Give a charge in writing to the aforesd Governor and the Shabandr of Mergin, to

send all other (the prementioned papers to Constant Faulcon cheife minister of State to the King of Syam) that all the English residing att that place may quitt the King of Syam's Service and repaire hither by the first opportunity and that our damages (for wch we require satisfaction) may bee knowne to his sd Matie and himselfe, the delivery of all wch papers are alsoe to be witnessed. and if they make not full satisfaction to our demands with in one Mo. before your prefixt Tyme of stay att Mergin bee expired (thereafter mentioned) then you must make prise of wt Shipps of the King of Syams or his Servants or Subjects you was att first only ordered to Secure.

"Wee have herewth given you our Lre to Mr Samuel White Shabandr of Mergin wch wee would have you deliver or cause to be delivered to him it tcont (besides wt wee write him about the buesiness Severall papers of complaints from our Pegu merchts, inhabitants of this Citty for ye wrongs and robberies they sustined by King of Syams men of warr wch brought them into that Port and afterwards during the Tyme of their being there."[1]

Captain Weltden was instructed either to remain at Mergui, or at one of the islands of the Archipelago, till the 20th October, until the south-west monsoon was past. His time during that period was to be occupied in seizing the ships of the King of Siam, expected to arrive at Mergui during the intervening period. One was looked for from Mocha, another from Acheen, besides two other ships, three of the four being known to be commanded by Englishmen. He had also stringent orders that if, anywhere on his voyage, he met with ships of the Mogul, or vessels from Bengal, Surat, the South Seas, Acheen, and other places, or the ships or vessels of any of the Mogul's subjects, he was to take and seize them, and bring them to Madras, to be lawfully condemned by the Judge of the Admiralty Court. His instructions also included the clauses relating to the search of French men-of-war, suspicious vessels,

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., JJ., b. 2. 2.

and to vessels generally sailing without the Company's pass.

The *Curtana* was a frigate which had left Portsmouth, June 1686, and had arrived at Madras on the 24th March, 1687. Her consort to Mergui was the sloop *James*, the master of which was Armiger Gosline. The former carried twenty-six soldiers and the latter fifteen. The sloop, which had been deficient in guns, had been supplied with four small ones by the order of the President and Council. These two vessels set sail for Mergui on the 5th June 1687.

While the authorities at Fort St. George were preparing for the Mergui expedition, Sir John Child at Bombay was instructing his captains to wage war on all the Siam ships they might encounter at sea, and as the orders he gave to Captain Joseph Eaton of the *London*, before he started on his voyage to China, are doubtless characteristic of them as a whole, they may be quoted here. In his commission to this officer, dated Bombay Castle, 23rd May, 1687, it is said, "The Quedah Merchant . . . brings certaine newes that our friends in the Bay have taken a shipp of the King of Siams, so that the warr is made publick and you must therefor be the more carefull, by same shipp came some letters from Mr. Harbin that Discovers his naughty heart, in them that is worthy your knowledge is, that the King of Siam will trade to Japan and China under Dutch collours, but do you not forbeare any of the King of Siams or his subjects shipps, Jounks, Vessells, or goods because of a Dutch Commission and Collours and halfe a dozen Dutchmen's being on board them, but take such vessells to choose, for whatever may belong to the Dutch or any European on board any such vessell as you may so take, you may assure them that they shall have delivered to them all that they can prove theirs, and we will see it complyed withall."

George White, while in England in 1687–91, vigorously opposed the high-handed pretensions of the East India Company to a monopoly of the trade of the East Indies, both in his petitions to Parliament on behalf of

his brother, and in a pamphlet that he had drawn up at the request of several members of Parliament.[1] In this work White strongly condemned the war, and denounced it as a "monstrous production," and so strongly did he feel its injustice, that he brought the subject before Parliament, exposing the pretended grounds on which it had been begun, and urging that there was not the least shadow of reason to extenuate it, much less to justify it. The only reason he could offer why it had ever been undertaken was the indignation of the Company against the obliging King of Siam, whose Minister Phaulkon, at White's suggestion, had made rich presents to the two late Kings, instead of to Wanstead and Whitehall.[2] This petty jealousy may have had its own influence, as White supposed, but James II. himself took an active part in instigating the war, and in dishonourably urging its aims, as will become apparent as the narrative proceeds. France, as the King knew, was striving after supremacy in Siam, and also in the Bay of Bengal, if her projects at Ayuthia should prove successful. To anticipate and frustrate the ambitious projects of Louis XIV., the Company, whose interests were at stake, backed by the Government and by King James, determined to seize Mergui, then the gateway to Siam from India, and the great seaport for the trade of the Coromandel Coast. It

[1] *Loc. cit., supra, f. n.*, p. 121.

[2] White, in his allusion to Wanstead, hit at Sir Josiah Child, who bought Wanstead Abbey in 1673, and went to "a prodigious cost in planting walnut trees about his seate and making fish ponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddainly monied men for the most part seate themselves." (Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S., Wheatley's ed., London, 1879, vol. ii. p. 402.) It has been said of Sir Josiah Child that "By his great annual presents he could command both at Court, and in Westminster Hall what he pleased" (Some Remarks upon the Present State of the East India Company's affairs, 1690.) He seems to have been unrelenting when not bribed. Sir Josiah Child died at Wanstead, and a sumptuous monument was erected to his memory in the church. (Hist. and Antiquities of Essex, vol. i., 1768, p. 30. The Environs of London, &c., by Rev. D. Lysons, vol. i., 1811, p. 720).

In his reference to Whitehall, George White had doubtless in view the court parasites, who, having been ignored by Phaulkon in the matter of presents, had become irate and malicious.

was to be fortified and made an English stronghold to face and dominate Pondicherry to the west.

They had a willing and influential supporter at Fort St. George in Elihu Yale, who had never forgiven Phaulkon for returning to him the jewels which, at his request, he had purchased for the King of Siam, on the ground that their value had been over-estimated. President Gyfford and the other members of his Council seem to have been equally eager to prosecute this unjustifiable war. How it ended in the disaster it merited, will hereafter appear.

CHAPTER X.

THE 'CURTANA' ARRIVES OFF MERGUI.

On the afternoon of the 23rd June, 1687, the yawl of the *Curtana* was pulling up towards Mergui harbour, under the charge of the second and third mates, Joseph Weld and Arthur Hoddy.

This was a distinct infringement of the order, unless it had been subsequently modified, that Captain Weltden was to keep his vessel and all that belonged to it hidden away among the islands of the Archipelago until October. This course had, however, been forced upon him, as he had run his vessel too far to the east into shoal water, and not knowing his position, he had to send out to discover where the port lay. Those in the boat, after having been twenty-four hours at sea, descrying a town, made for it, and discovered themselves at the very place their captain had been instructed to avoid. On their arrival within the bar, they saw a ship lying at anchor, and on boarding it, found it to be fully provisioned and ready for sea, and that it was named the *Resolution.* They were entertained with some refreshment after their long exposure; and their arrival having been observed from the town, Captain Leslie came on board with a message from the Shāhbandar, Samuel White, asking them to go ashore and see him, as he was anxious to learn the news from England and Mocha, and to ascertain why they had come to Mergui. They did so, and were civilly received by Richard Burneby and White, whom they informed that their ship was the *Curtana,* and that they had been sent by the captain, Anthony Weltden, to find out the harbour of Mergui, as

they were strangers, but that when the ship arrived, the captain himself would explain the object of his visit.

They were then taken, as customary, before the "Duke of the Country,"[1] and were afterwards conducted to Samuel White's house, where they remained for the night, and were treated with much courtesy. At supper White expressed his dissatisfaction at not knowing for what purpose the *Curtana* had come; and his enemy Davenport alleges that the Shāhbandar declared that he would "rather go quick to hell than go to Fort St. George to be under the lash of Elihu Yale; and that for him to go to Fort St. George was just like a man's making a good voyage, and on his return homewards to fall into the hands of Andemanners."[2] Joseph Weld, the second mate of the *Curtana*, attests the truth of Davenport's statement, that before leaving Mergui, on the following morning, he received a message from Samuel White to Captain Weltden, to the effect that if he "came in a friendly manner, no man should be more kindly treated or more honourably received than he should be in Mergen, but if he came in a hostile manner, he himself would come at the head of two or three thousand men to oppose him and defend the place, for he was the King of Siam's servant, and would serve him faithfully." White sent the officers away in his own barge, with a pilot to bring the *Curtana* into port, and on the following morning the ship anchored about two miles from the town, and a mile and a half within the bar. In the course of the day, Messrs. John Threder, John Grant, Hendrick

[1] By "Duke of the Country" the *Chăo-Mŭang*, or hereditary governor of the province, was doubtless meant. The Portuguese translated these and other native titles, according to their fancy, as Duke, Marquis, &c., and other European nations adopted them.

[2] The natives of the Andaman Islands.—Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., Commissioner of the Islands, has recently said, "They have always had an ill name as cannibals, and this is probably due to the ferocity with which they attacked all strangers who approached their shores, and small blame to them, as their hostility is due to the treatment which they received from the Malay and Chinese traders who visited the islands in search of *bêche-de-mer* and edible birds' nests, and who, when opportunity offered, carried the natives off into slavery." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* for February 1889.

Barnes, and Francis Davenport put off in a native boat, and visited the *Curtana*, and had a long conversation with Captain Weltden on the quarter-deck, and shortly afterwards Don Joseph de Heredia appeared in Mr. White's barge to take Captain Weltden ashore. The landing took place in the following order: first went Captain Weltden in White's barge, attended by John Farwell, Lieutenant Benjamin Mason, and Mr. Joseph Olindo, the barge being doubtless commanded by Don Joseph de Heredia; then followed the yawl of the *Curtana*, steered by John Long, the carpenter, and carrying Mr. Grant and Francis Davenport, whilst Hendrick Barnes' country-boat ended the procession, carrying the captain's guard, consisting of "six Blunderbusses and six Fuze-men." As the barge, with the Union flag flying at its bow, left the vessel, a salute of eleven guns, "shotted with stones," was fired about three o'clock. The landing took place at Mr. White's wharf, where Captain Weltden was received by the Shāhbandar and Mr. Burneby, and all the English, except some of Mr. White's servants. The ceremony of reading the King's proclamation took place in Mr. White's drawing-room, and when it was finished the English residents of Mergui unanimously expressed their willingness to obey it, and evinced their loyalty by crying aloud, "Amen," after Mr. Farwell had repeated the words "God save the King;" and "to certifie their compliance with his Majestie's pleasure," those who could write signed a paper "expressing much satisfaction in Captain Weltden's arrival to carry them to Madras," while those who could not write made their marks.

White records that when the royal command ordering him to leave Mergui and the service of the King of Siam was made known to him, he resolved to obey it with all dutiful submission.

On the following day, the declaration of war against Siam was proclaimed to the English residents, who were informed that they were all from that moment to consider

themselves out of the service of the King of Siam, and that if anything was due to them, they were entitled to reimburse themselves from the King's coffers, and that they were to be in readiness to repair on board the *Curtana*. White protested that the King owed the men nothing, and that he was responsible for their salaries, and that as several of them held places of trust, it would be "most unreasonable that they should have such a latitude given them to play the rogue," and urged that he should be allowed to settle their claims; and to this arrangement Captain Weltden ultimately agreed. White then dismissed all the Englishmen in the service of the King, and informed them that he would pay whatever was due to them.

Although an order had been issued by White that no one was to go on board the *Curtana* without his sanction, the deceitful coward Davenport was found one night making his preparations to accompany Captain Weltden to his ship. He was accordingly ordered back by Mr. Burneby, and on his arrival at White's house, he was seized by Burneby's Lascars, his rapier taken from him, was manacled and carried off to the common gaol at Tenasserim, where he remained for some days, until he was released on the intercession of Weltden.

On the 28th June, according to Davenport, a "firm peace for sixty days," had been concluded pending the transmission of the Company's letter to Ayuthia, and the arrival of the King's answer to it. On the day following, the ship *James*, the consort of the *Curtana*, arrived in Mergui harbour, and Armiger Gosline, her commander, was ordered to ride near the *Resolution* opposite Mr. White's house, to prevent the crew taking the vessel to the other side of Banda-makhon,[1] and to fire upon the *Resolution* if it offered

[1] The Banda-makhon of Davenport is the island that forms the western side of Mergui harbour. In the preliminary chart of the Eastern Frontier Series, prepared by the officers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India from the work accomplished by them in the seasons 1877–78 and 1879–82, the island bears no name; but its two prominent points, *Pauta* and *Patit*, are indicated, they having been used by

to stir from its moorings or attempted to go up the river. The *Resolution*, however, was a formidable ship, armed with twenty-two guns, and, moreover, on the wharf, near Mr. White's house, there were no less than "eight or ten

the Survey officers as stations for their observations. The island derives its name from the peak *Pauta* or *Pataw*. In the map of the northern part of the Mergui Archipelago published by James Horsburgh, hydrographer to the Hon. East India Company, February 1, 1830, and corrected at the Admiralty up to June 1871, this small island is called Madramacan; but I could find no native of Mergui who knew it by this name, as it is invariably called Pataw. Towards the northern part of the eastern shore of the island there is, however, a locality which the inhabitants of the town of Mergui call *Buddha-makhan*, and I am disposed to think that Madramacan is a corruption of this word. It is said to have derived its name from the circumstance that a Mahomedan saint called Buddhar Udin resided there. The legend about him is that he came from the north by sea, and being attracted to the northern part of Pataw by its natural beauty, he built a hut on the banks of a small stream where it enters the sea, and where lies a huge boulder on which he meditated for forty days, receiving from God whatever he asked for in his prayers. The Mahomedans in consequence called the place Buddhar Udin's makhan. It is a curious circumstance, however, that the place is reverenced alike by Buddhists and Mahomedans, and by the Chinese of Mergui. The Buddhists, after the custom of their religion, affix gold leaf to the boulder, whereas the Chinese leave small squares of brown paper ornamented with a representation in gold leaf of their deity who patronises seafaring men.

Colonel Sir Edward Sladen informs me that the promontory at Akyab known as "the Point" is called by the Arakanese *Buddha Makan*, after a Mahomedan saint, Buddha Aouliah, who chose it as a place of residence, and passed the greater part of his hermit life there. The place and its surroundings are regarded as sacred by all creeds and classes of natives residing in Arakan. Buddhists, Mahomedans, and Hindoos all come, and either worship or solicit intercession with the unseen powers as a means of deliverance from evil, or success in any proposed worldly undertaking.

"One of the large boulders on the ridge has been hewn out so as to represent a natural cave, which is said to have been the actual residence of Buddha Sahib;" and Sir Edward mentions that on an immediately adjoining boulder there is a small Mahomedan mosque.

On still another boulder, more sacred than the rest, a dome has been built, "because it contains a footprint of Buddha, as well as an impression or indenture made by him when he knelt in prayer or went through other devotional exercises." "Hindus," according to Sir Edward Sladen, "are said to have been the first who discovered the saint's supernatural powers. He is by them supposed to exercise an influence over marine affairs and navigation;" and in verification of this I have the authority of that accomplished Hindu, Babu Pratapa Chandra Ghosha, that Hindus, especially the women of Lower Bengal, on going on a pilgrimage by river or sea, generally drop a few coppers into the water as an offering to Buddha Udin, saying, *Darya-ka pānch payse Buddhar, Buddhar!*

Is it likely that the Mahomedans have appropriated some legend about Buddha Gautama?

guns laden, and the shot lying by, ready to clap into them."

Great preparations were also begun for the defence of the river, and, according to Davenport, they were made by the command of Samuel White, and were carried out under his supervision; which is more than likely, as the Shāhbandar was answerable for the safety of the port, and would have been culpably remiss in his duty had he not done so. He afterwards acknowledged to Weltden, that he was responsible for the construction of the defences. Had he disregarded the trust reposed in him, or had he attempted to play the traitor by leaving the port undefended, the Council of Tenasserim would certainly have prepared for the protection of Mergui under the serious aspect which affairs had now assumed, war having been proclaimed, with a truce of only sixty[1] days granted to admit of an answer being received from the Siamese Government. The defences consisted of staking up the river and constructing great-cables, and the building of a platform on which fifteen big guns were placed, "whole and dimyculvering."[2] These works were carried on by day, and by night with dammer lights, torches for which Mergui has long been famous.[3] Captain Weltden, perceiving how rapidly the

[1] In the Historical Abstract it is stated that the truce was for sixty days, but Captain Weltden records that it was only for forty.

[2] A *culverin* nearly corresponded in construction and appearance to the guns of the present day. Many culverins were made of enormous length, as the "idea was entertained by ancient artillerists—founded on the relation which cannon were erroneously supposed to bear to small arms—that the range increased with the length of the piece."—*Farrow's Military Encyclopædia*, vol. i., 1885, p. 437. "*Whole* and dimyculvering" would seem to mean that small and large culverins were used.

[3] The steamer in which I went to Mergui left that port for Penang with all the available deck space taken up with dammer torches. The oil used in their preparation is derived from one or more species of the genus *Dipterocarpus*, huge forest trees yielding an oil of superior quality. The species of this genus are known to the Burmese as *Kanyeen*. I was informed at Mergui that the British Government levies a tax of Rs.5 per head on all permanently employed in this trade, and of Rs.3 in those cases in which the occupation is only occasionally resorted to. In 1880-81, 232 licenses had been granted, yielding a revenue of Rs.1703.

A working party generally consists of four or five persons. Each party usually selects a spot where the trees are numerous and close

river was being stockaded, resolved to pull up the stakes and to cut the great cables in pieces as they lay on the shore, and to spike all the guns in both forts, and this too in a time of truce; and he carried out his determination so far, and pulled up a great many of the stakes or piles. The position of the *Resolution* now occupied his attention, and as the ship lay under the command of the guns of the forts, he determined to seize the ship during White's absence at Tenasserim, where he had gone, accompanied by William Westbrook, the surgeon of the *Curtana*, and two other officers, Messrs. Freeman and Olindo. With a strong guard of soldiers, and the Union flag at the boat's bow, he started at nine o'clock A.M. on the 9th July to carry out the seizure of the vessel. When he arrived alongside, he armed himself with a pair of pistols, and ordering his men to do the same, he sprang on board, and called out, "I do seize this ship in the name of the King of England, to the use of the Honourable Company." He placed his second mate and boatswain in charge of the vessel, and ordered his own gunner to see all the guns

together, conditions that are necessary in order to make their labour pay. The process for extracting the oil consists of cutting a hole into the bole of the tree three or four feet above the ground, and making it more or less cup-shaped, so that it receives the oil as it flows out; and to stimulate the flow a fire is lighted in the hole. A man can work forty trees a day, but each tree is generally allowed a rest of four days, so as not to drain its resources dry; but the process kills a tree in four or five years. Each man can collect about thirty-four pounds daily from forty trees, the value of this being about one rupee. The working season lasts from four to six months. The oil is largely used by fishermen and agriculturists for lighting purposes, is also employed in polishing wood, and mixed with lime it is used for caulking boats. For making torches decayed wood is mixed with the oil. A leaf is laid into a mould made from a split bamboo and the mixture poured into it, and the remainder of the leaf is turned down on to it. This is then removed from the mould and another leaf is wound round the mass and bound with fine strips or cords of bamboo to give it firmness. It is then allowed to dry in the sun until it becomes solid, and the torches are tied up in bundles of twenty-five. They are highly inflammable, and are never put below on the steamers that carry them to Penang, and a plentiful supply of water is always kept on deck ready at hand, in case they ignite.

In 1880–81, 222,400 torches went to Rangoon, valued at 5832 rupees, and a large number to Penang, to the value of 7971 rupees; and 12,862 gallons of the oil were exported to Rangoon, representing 4931 rupees.

drawn, and loaded again with "round shot and pateridge," in case the forts should oppose the vessel being taken away; but meeting with no opposition, the *Resolution* was anchored the same evening between the *Curtana* and the eastern shore.

The natives, on their part, continued to pour in great numbers into the town, numerous war-boats appeared on the river, a battery was erected in a wood commanding the *Curtana*, and 1000 bottles were filled with gunpowder to be used as shells.

On Mr. White's return from Tenasserim, he was astonished, and at first indignant, that the *Resolution* should have been seized; but Davenport asserts that he came to an understanding with Weltden, and that the two were stricter friends than ever; and one of the charges brought against Captain Weltden by the Company was that he had been "corrupted by Mr. White's arts," although "he was true to his trust at his first arrival at Mergen."[1] The *James* was now moved to a new position, and anchored nearly in front of the lower fort, in order to awe it. On the 12th the war-boats had become so numerous, that the river in front of Mr. White's house was crowded with them. Captain Weltden, before going on board his ship at night, sent Lieutenant Mason to the Shāhbandar to say that "those unaccustomary numbers of armed boats were no arguments of any friendly design." White replied that the boats only contained a few harmless fellows come to sell betel-nut, but that since Captain Weltden apprehended danger, he would go along with him on board his ship, and be his guard, which he accordingly did, "running downstairs like one distracted, without hat, slippers, or anything but his nightgown and a pair of drawers." On arriving on board, we have the picture of White in the foregoing costume entertained by Weltden, with plentiful supplies of liquor, each toast as it was drunk[2] being ratified

[1] Answer of the East India Company, p. 4.

[2] This had been an old custom of the Company's captains, as in the Court Minutes there is a resolution, dated so far back as the 15th Jan-

by a salute, the guns being loaded either with bullets or stones. No less than sixty-four shots were fired before the carousal was at an end, and more would have followed had not the night been so wet.

After such a revel the Shāhbandar did not go ashore until the following afternoon, but the punch of the previous evening seems to have molified him to a wonderful degree, as Weltden was able to announce that White was prepared to give up Don Joseph de Heredia's ship; and that as the Don had no cargo for the vessel, White himself would load it with masts, yards, timbers, and planks, chiefly for Captain Weltden, and that he would also send down the *Dorothy* from Tenasserim as soon as it was rigged, to be under the command of the *Curtana's* guns, and that he would deliver Joseph Demarcora's ship at Tenasserim to Captain Weltden, if he would send up some one to take it over.

Suspicious rumours continued to fly about, and the number of armed boats in the harbour did not diminish, but Captain Weltden went ashore on the morning of the 14th July, 1687.[1] Between nine and ten o'clock at night, those on board the *Curtana* saw the flashing and heard the reports of a great number of small fire-arms, followed by the firing of the great guns of both forts, and afterwards by those of the hidden battery in the wood. The small fire-arms were apparently discharged near the Shāhbandar's house, which was soon enveloped in flames, as was also the shipyard. They thought also that they observed a vessel on fire a little above the great battery, her masts standing out plainly in the middle of the flames, and two

uary, 1610, against unnecessary expense of powder, "shooting at drinking of healths, &c." It was thus a favourite accompaniment of all carousals, and it is recorded (Hedges' Diary, vol. i. pp. 137, 138) that at a dinner-party given by the unfortunate Captain Lake on board his ship the *Prudent Mary* at Balasore, and which included a number of the Company's servants, and some of his favourites the interlopers, they made "great mirth and jollity by firing guns all the afternoone."

[1] In the Gazetteer of British Burmah, vol. ii. p. 382, it is erroneously said that this attack took place in 1695.

loud reports led them to believe that the vessel had been blown up by the ignition of her magazines. Their conjectures as to what all this meant were not removed until midnight, when Captain Gosline of the *James*, with his mate, Mullins, and four others, came on board the *Curtana* with the horrifying intelligence that all the Englishmen in Mergui had been massacred by the natives, and that the *James* had been completely destroyed by the great guns from both forts, and that they themselves had escaped with great difficulty to the *Curtana*. Those on board the latter vessel supposed, very naturally, that Captain Weltden and all his guards ashore had fallen before the fury of the multitude; so the officers held a council to determine what was to be done for the safety of the ship, which being within the bar, was at the mercy, it is said, of more than one hundred "*Saldmandgilias*" and fire-boats. At the council were Zachary Stilgo, chief mate, Joseph Weld, second mate, Arthur Hoddy, third mate, William Westbrook, surgeon, John Long, carpenter, Thomas Johnson, boatswain, and William Beck, gunner. They all with one consent resolved, for the safety of the ship, to drop down below the bar into deeper water, away from the sandbanks, and this precaution was not taken a minute too soon, for a raft of bamboos, all on fire, was seen coming down rapidly upon them with the strong ebb. So quick was its progress, that they had to cut the cables of their two anchors, and man the boats to keep ahead of the ship, and to tow it the right way. Captain Gosline, with some of his men, was sent to look after the *Resolution*, and bring that vessel after the *Curtana*, but the officers of the latter, after crossing the bar, losing sight of the former vessel in the darkness of the night, rendered greater by a gust of wind and rain, concluded that the *Resolution* had not been able to cross the bar; but when the *Curtana* had got into seven fathoms of water, those on board heard a gun fired from the *Resolution*, and answering it by another, immediately anchored. Shortly afterwards Mr. John Harris came

on board the *Curtana* with the news that Captain Weltden and Mr. White had escaped the massacre, and were on board the *Resolution*. The former was reported to have been wounded in the head, and had sent for the doctor, who went immediately to his assistance, but with a message from the ship's officers asking him if he could not return to his ship, to send them a line in writing to signify that he was alive, "for it was hard to think that all his guard should be cut off, and only himself escaped."

On the following day the *Curtana* kept moving about in deep water below the bar, and in the afternoon Captain Weltden joined his ship, and at once ordered the vessel to stand up towards the *Resolution*, where it anchored, and Mr. White went on board, and held a consultation with Weltden regarding the propriety of sending a crew in the long-boat over the bar to recover the two anchors, and a topsail which had been left on shore on Pataw island. Some of the men declined to go on account of the great number of war-boats about, while others were prepared to accompany the captain; but in the evening, the dead body of Mr. Olindo, "driving by the ship's side miserably mangled, put a stop to the pursuing of that hazardous undertaking any further." On the next morning another proposal was made, *viz.*, that the Captain and Mr. White should go in person with the crew, "double or trebled armed," round the back of the island of Pataw, to ascertain whether Mr. White's house was standing, and still held out against the natives, and if it were so, they were to fight their way through to the relief of the survivors. This proposition was considered hazardous and unreasonable, as Captain Gosline had stated that Mr. White's house had already been in flames before he left the *James*, and, moreover, not only the river, but the island of Pataw was thickly lined with boats, and the *Dorothy* and *Robin* had been seized by the natives. However, it was resolved to attempt it, and the boats were preparing, when the body of another Englishman was taken

up near the ship's side, more hacked and mangled than the first. This incident determined the Captain to abandon the enterprise, and letters were written in Portuguese, Dutch, and English to the chief of the Council of Tenasserim, containing a proposal for the redemption of any Englishmen still alive, and these letters were sent ashore in charge of two of Mr. White's Lascars, with a flag of truce. Nothing has been recorded as to the result of this attempt to save any Englishmen who might have escaped from the massacre.

On the night of the tragedy, Captain Weltden had supped with White. Supper having been finished, and the guard having been ordered to proceed to the barge which was to take Weltden back to the *Curtana*, White accompanied his guest with some ceremony to the wharf where he was to embark, and, while the two were courteously taking leave, an infuriated mob of natives rushed out from the darkness, and Captain Weltden was felled to the ground by a tremendous blow on the head, but the force of the blow was broken by his "beaver hat." His assailant was made to bite the dust by Aires, the sturdy gunner of the *Curtana*. White escaped and rushed on board the barge, and ordered John Cogshill to push off the boat and make for the *Dorothy*.

Although Captain Weltden had been stunned by the blow and left as dead, he recovered consciousness, and ran to the back of the Shāhbandar's house, his escape being unobserved in the darkness, owing to the black clothes he wore. There he met a Mahommedan, who showed him the barge driving up along the shore with the flood, and rushing towards it through the mud, and being fortunately observed by the trumpeter, he was pulled in, and thus saved. The barge was then directed to the north end of Pataw, as they thought this would be the easiest and surest way of escape; but as they noticed what appeared to be two great man-of-war boats on the outlook, they ran the barge into the bushes of a mangrove swamp,

where they were hidden, and remained two or three hours, when, taking advantage of the obscurity caused by a gust of wind and rain, they pulled out again, and arrived safely on board the *Resolution*.

The two ships left the mouth of the river on the 18th July, and made for the fine large bay on the eastern side of King Island, where they anchored, to await the arrival of the vessels White had sent to Acheen, as he was not yet aware that any of them had been captured by the East India Company's ships of war. Leaving this splendidly wooded bay and its surrounding mountains, they took up a position to the east of Iron Island, to command a better view of the northern entrance to Mergui harbour; but they were driven from their position by the natives, who had followed them up with the *Dorothy*, *Phaulkon*, *Robin*, and *James*—for this sloop had not been destroyed, as was at first supposed—and with thirteen or fourteen boats ready to attack them. They were therefore forced to leave this second anchorage, and to make for the seaward face of Iron Island, where they anchored between it and the island of Canaster. They remained in this neighbourhood for some days, still in the expectation that the ships, in which White had a heavy stake, would soon come in sight, but as they did not appear, and as he wished to wait a few days longer for them, the *Curtana* sailed to Negrais. While there, Captain Weltden surveyed the place and hoisted the English flag.[1] He then returned on the 2nd November to the north end of Tenasserim island, which had been fixed as a rendezvous for the two ships, but the *Resolution* was nowhere to be found. However, on going ashore, he discovered a bottle containing a letter from White saying he had gone to Acheen. The Shāhbandar knew he could quite safely leave such an object on any of the more westerly islands of the Archipelago, as they were uninhabited, and only rarely visited by those sea-gypsies, the Selungs.

[1] Oriental Repertory, vol. i. p. 103.

Captain Weltden hurried after him in the *Curtana*, and arrived in the harbour of Acheen on the 10th November. There he wrote a letter to the President and Council at Fort St. George acquainting them of the massacre, and dispatched it by a ship sailing for that Presidency; but it only arrived at Madras a few days before he did. A report of the disaster had, however, reached the President and Council at Fort St. George in December, and the substance of it they at once communicated to Sir John Child at Bombay.[1] In their letter it is said that Weltden, "14 days after his arrival at Merge, upon the Publishing ye said Proclamation, all ye English very loyally and unanimously submitted thereto, and layd down their Commissions and employment from ye King of Syam, resolveing to repair thither (Fort St. George)." He then, according to his instructions, "sent letters up to ye King of Syam, and made and kept a truce till 40 days for answer but after 14 days expiration ye natives broak it makeing an Insurrection and by night surpriz'd and assaulted ye English most inhumanly and treacherously masakering most of them ashoar to a great number none of them escapeing that we yet hear of but Captn. Weltden and Mr. Samuel White." The President and Council also informed Sir John Child that the natives had taken the *James*, and destroyed all her men except the captain, who escaped on board the *Curtana*. Phaulkon, they said, "is much suspected to have been ye occasion of ye villany, and that he has continued it at Syam to the murdering of all ye Englishmen they saye amount not to less than 200 souls the allmighty avert it, or revenge their innocent blood upon his head and ye Place wch has been fatall to many." If the facts given in this letter represent the sum and substance of the report to the authorities at Fort St. George, the omission of any reference to Weltden's acts in pulling up the stakes in the river and seizing the *Resolution*, described in the account of his conduct after-

[1] Letter Book, Fort St. George, 19th December, 1687, J.J. b. 2, 3.

wards published as an official paper at Fort St. George, on the 30th January, 168$\frac{7}{8}$, from information supplied by five of his own officers, was a very serious omission. In the official narrative of the events these two acts preceded the outbreak by the natives, so that the truce which Weltden had proposed, he himself was the first to break. After it had been so disgracefully brought to nought, the confidence of the Council of Tenasserim in the good faith of the English, must have received a rude shock, the anger of the populace must have been aroused, and doubtless more treachery anticipated.

The entire evidence points to the conclusion that the massacre was solely due to an outburst of indignation at Weltden's rash proceedings and treachery in breaking the truce. The native Council, indignant at these insults,[1] determined to crush the English, and consequently selected a time and occasion when this could be most effectually accomplished, and when it would place the offending captain of the *Curtana* in their power. From the manner in which the attack was begun, it is evident that Captain Weltden had been singled out as the person to be first destroyed. When it was known to his guard that he had been attacked, they at once opened fire on the multitude, and doubtless, as the encounter was at close quarters, they wounded many, and probably killed not a few, which added fuel to the fire of the hatred of the populace; and the guards being soon overwhelmed and killed, bands of excited natives rushed about the town carrying the sword into the house of every Englishman in Mergui, not even sparing the easy-going governor, Richard Burneby.

Burneby was doubtless too much occupied with his own ease to know what was going on, whereas White must have been aware of the popular excitement that supervened on Weltden's pulling up the stakes and seizing the *Resolution*,

[1] Crawford says the massacre was "to all appearance provoked by the intemperance and arrogance of Englishmen in authority." *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 143.

but flattered himself that it would pass away, and that the people would remain quiet until the answer had arrived from Ayuthia. The fact of his accompanying Weltden in ceremony to his barge unattended by the guard, which had been sent in advance, is evidence that the Shāhbandar did not expect any attack that night, although he had apparently anticipated some outbreak sooner or later, as he had sent away the wives and children of Captain Cropely and Mr. Tutie to Tenasserim for safety. The circumstance that he took refuge in the boat when the attack was made shows that he well knew what his own fate would have been if he had remained on shore. If he had been the instigator of the outbreak, and had determined to defend Mergui against the attacks of his own countrymen, he was not the man to desert his post.

The statement in the foregoing letter that a number of Englishmen had been massacred at Ayuthia, for by "Syam" the capital was meant, is entirely without foundation.

But to return to the *Curtana* and *Resolution*. They sailed in company from Acheen to Madapollam, and then went in the direction of Madras; but Weltden, who had declined to apprehend White, although some of his crew had urged him to do so and carry him to Madras, parted company with the *Resolution*, on the 24th December, and sailed alone to that port, but carrying the following letter[1] from White to the President:—

"From on board ye Resolution,
December 24th, 1687.

"R^t^ Hono^ble^ and
Worthy S^r^

"Yours to Mr. Richd Burneby and myself came safely to hand by ye Curtana and ye dismal fate since attending us, has left me alone to answer it wherin I should have been more particular, could I recollect ye contents, ye originall wth all other of my papers, with other

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., J.J. c. 13.

more momentary concerns being then lost; ye most materiall as I remember in it was to demand us in his Maj^{ty} Our Royall Soveraign and ye R^{t} Hono^{ble} East India Comp^{a} names, from ye King of Siams service, wth wch and all other yor commands, how readily they were complyed wth none can better informe you y^{n} ye bearer Capt Anthony Weltden, not only from our selves but all his Maj^{ty} subjects under our commands since wch all y^{t} has befell us Capt Weltden will not be wanting to render you a faithfull acc^{t} of; whereto please to be referred.

"Since our comeing from Mergen, haveing notice from Captain Weltden y^{t} to secure such ships of ye King of Siams as was y^{n} supposed to be come from Acheen, and gone to Mergen ye better to prevent his encountering y^{m} he resolved thither, and as I beleived my self obliged made him tender of my ship for ye Honble Comp^{as} service as he should see good to appoint her, whereupon he was pleased to hono^{r} me wth ye copy of his Maj^{ty} our Soveraigns Royall Comission annexed to such instructions as was concluded might prove most beneficial to his Hono^{ble} Employers.

"Some urgent occasions requiring my appearance at Pollicatt will detain me here some days, but not y^{t} I intend wth all possible speed to wayte on you at Madras, w^{n} if in person or n^{t} else I may be capable of doing ye R^{t} Hono^{ble} Comp^{a} any acceptable service. I shall not fail to embrace ye proposition as ye greatest hono^{r} that can be conferred on

"R^{t} Hono^{ble} and Worship S^{r}
Yo^{r} most obed^{t} Servant,
"SAM^{LL} WHITE."

White, however, did not proceed to Madras, but sailed away shortly afterwards.

The authorities at Fort St. George[1] accused Captain

[1] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, dated 17th January, 1688. J.J. b. 2, 3.

Weltden and Mr. White to Sir John Child of great remissness and neglect in the management of the Mergui affairs, which they said had been confirmed by some Frenchmen, doubtless the Count de Forbin and MM. Cébert and Delandres of Pondicherry, who arrived off Madras in January, 1688, from Mergui. The President and Council of Fort St. George were of opinion that White was conscious of some misdemeanour, as he had not brought his ship into Madras, but had "silently crept away to Pondicherry," where he remained, probably under French colours, until he had provisioned his ship, when he sailed for Europe or Bombay, but they hoped he would go to the latter port, when Sir John Child might call him to account. The authorities at Madras, when they heard that White had gone off, sent a ship to follow him to Pondicherry or Portonova, to seize him and convey him to Fort St. George, to be examined by the Court of Admiralty; but White had lost no time at Pondicherry, and the very day the pursuing ship was to leave Madras news arrived that the *Resolution* had left Pondicherry; so the chase was abandoned and White reached England in safety.

Before the President and Council at Fort St. George had become aware of the disaster at Mergui, the attitude of King James II. to the affairs at that port had determined them to send another ship to Weltden's assistance, with additional soldiers and officers, "with 4000 Doll^rs^., stores, ammunition, &c., sufficient to storm and maintain the place." Two officers were carefully selected for the task and to be in readiness to administer the government when Mergui should be invested. The two officials selected for this onerous mission were Mr. William Hodges and Mr. John Hill. The former had had great experience, as in 1682 he was second councillor at Bantam when the young King rebelled against his father and made the place over to the Dutch, was at Tonquin in 1682, and at Ayuthia in 1686, having returned to Fort St. George in

the beginning of the following year in the *Dragon*, commanded by Captain Anthony Fenn.

The Directors in London had brought prominently before the Council at Fort St. George the fact that the French had dispatched a powerful embassy to Ayuthia, accompanied by a considerable body of troops, and that the French were aiming at supremacy at Ayuthia and Mergui.[1] So impressed was James the Second with the importance of counteracting French influence, or at least of modifying it, that he had apparently made up his mind to allow no consideration to stand in the way of securing Mergui to the crown of England. He had accordingly sent his "express letter" to Messrs. Burneby and White at Tenasserim, ordering them to return, or "deliver up that place to ye English."

The frigate *Pearl*, Captain James Perriman, was selected as a suitable vessel for the purpose, and on the 29th August, 1687,[2] the captain was ordered to repair immediately on board his ship, and to weigh anchor and sail for the port of Mergui, using all means for the most expeditious attainment of that port, the Right Honourable Company's affairs greatly requiring it; and their order continues thus: "Therefore you must touch at noe place in yor way nor make any delayes but w^{t} an absolute necessity and upon yor arrivall there, you are to follow the orders of the Worship^{ll} William Hodges Esq. &c^{a} Council appointed by our Commission and Instructions, dated 22 Aug^{t}, 1687, who goes upon yor ship, to whom being Chief, you must give the Chair, and pay all Respects to him, and Mr. John Hill third of our s^{d} Council alsoe Mr. John Burlue their Secretary allowing them the great Cabbing for their accommodation w^{h} all other conveniencys yor ship affords and y^{t} our souldiers and seamen want nothing convenient for them during the voyage, and y^{t} you keep a due Governm^{t} aboard, in all thing both Religious Civill and Military

[1] Letters from President and Council to Fort St. George, 29th Sept 1687, &c., Letter-book J.J. b. 2, 3. [2] *Ibid.*

and that you husband the stores and ammunition wth. all prudent frugallity keeping a daly and just accot. of their expence, wee have alsoe put aboard you 6 slaves to whom you are to allow necessary provisions and cloths employing them on the service of the ship, wch. by yor. care in a voyage will make them seamen and save the charge of Laskars and be certain to the ship soe wishing you a good voyage we date these prests.."

In a letter from the President and Council at Madras to Sir John Child, dated 29th September, 1687, it is stated that the *Pearl* left for Mergui on the 29th August "with his prest. Majtys. Royall Proclamation, for the recalling his subjects from the King of Syams service," and that Mr. William Hodges and Mr. John Hill, &c., were "to prosecute the Rt. Honble. Coyas. orders in yt. affair;" and the President and Council ventured to say that they hoped Mr. White, &c., "will understand, their alleigiance, duty, and interests better, and prevent the trouble of a dispute, by a ready, quiet surrender of the place, which is otherwise design'd for the French, and will certainly fall into their possession." The President and Council were aware that five French men-of-war and two thousand soldiers had gone to Siam for that purpose, but they hoped to be beforehand with them. "The only scruple will be from the want of his Majtys. Royall Lre of Command to Mr. White and Burneby which they never dared to have disobeyed, and it 'twas an unhappy misfortune that it went upon the Bengal Mercht. a vessel which would arrive to late to admit of the letter being sent to Mergui that Monsoon." It was not until 13th April, 1688, that the arrival of this ship was reported, bringing the desired letter from his Majesty King James the Second to White and Burneby, nearly a year too late for the purpose for which it had been written. The President and Council of Fort St. George also wrote on the 11th August, 1687, to Job Charnock and his Council at Bengal,[1] that King James

[1] At this period Bengal was under Fort St. George. J.J. b. 2, 3.

the Second had "sent his Express Lre to Mr. White and Mr. Burneby at Tanassere to return or deliver up that place to ye English and we are now sending a ffriggatt to join wth those sent in June last to summon our People thence or to take the place." They also wrote to White giving him "all the assurances of the reality of that Lre and its import," and sent to him attested copies of several clauses about which the Company had written to them, in the hope that their perusal would influence him to accede to the royal command, and that so their faithful and zealous endeavours would be crowned with success, and Sir John Child would be satisfied that they had not deserved the censure he had passed on them regarding their management of their affairs in Siam, "for God knows that this Council have been far from being obliged by Phaulkon."[1]

Twenty-four days after its departure from Madras, the frigate *Pearl*, with Messrs. Hodges and Hill on board, was lying off King Island, a large island to the west of Mergui. There, Captain Perriman espied two ships, and sailing towards them, he came within speaking distance of one which he noticed had an English "*anticut*" dyed red. He hailed it, and in reply was informed that the vessel belonged to the King of Siam, and was commanded by Captain Cropley. He ordered the captain to come on board the *Pearl*, but in return received a flat refusal, and was told he might send his boat to him. This defiant answer, and the suspicious character of the colours the vessel was flying, made Perriman suspect that he had fallen in with pirates, of whom he was aware there were several on the coast. He therefore, without further hesitation, put on all sail, and coming up with the ship, fired a broadside into her, which, however, was returned. After this his opponent tacked, and taking the other strange vessel in tow, the two made off in the direction of Mergui pursued by the *Pearl*. Perriman's ship, however, was soon out-distanced, and night coming on, he had no course left

[1] Fort St. George Letter Book, J.J. b. 2, 3, 29th September, 1687.

but to drop his anchor and wait for the morning. At daylight he sailed for the harbour, and to his astonishment saw thirteen sail of men-of-war and galleys bearing down upon him. At this sight his courage abated, and hastily calling his officers together to consult as to what course he should adopt, and arriving at the conclusion that the galleys "must be rogues to y^e: King of Siam," it was resolved that a flag of truce should be run up from the mast-head. Another reason assigned for so doing was the circumstance that their provisions were all "stinking" and their water almost spent, and that there was no other place near to which they could conveniently run for safety. The fleet of vessels was soon upon them, when Perriman again assumed the air of command, and ordered Captain Cropley to come on board his vessel, but with the same success as on the previous occasion. He then reconsidered his position, and as his flag of truce was still flying, he had to succumb and to send a boat and some men to Cropley's ship, on reaching which they were all detained, but a boat was sent to him with an English pilot to take the *Pearl* into the harbour. Those on board the ship now learned for the first time that fifty Englishmen had been massacred in the rising, and that Burneby and Captain Leslie had been killed, but that Captain Weltden and Mr. White had narrowly escaped. The facts connected with the departure of the *Curtana* and *Resolution* were also communicated to them, and they were told that a Frenchman, spoken of as the Raja, now held Burneby's appointment, and that peace and quiet reigned in the town. The *Pearl* anchored in the Tenasserim river on the 24th September, where the *Expectation* commanded by Captain Tyler, a French vessel, and two ships belonging to natives of India also lay at anchor.[1]

On the 4th October, Mr. Hodges and Mr. Hill set out for Ayuthia, apparently having been forced to do so by the Siamese and French officials at Mergui, for their commis-

[1] Letters received at Madras. A Letter from James Perriman, dated Mergen, 24th December, 1687. J.J. c. 13.

sions never contemplated such a proceeding. Indeed, when this news reached the authorities at Madras they wrote to Sir John Child[1] that they knew not "upon what authority or necessity," or for what end or design "they had gone to the capital," unless it were "to expose themselves &c.ª to the scorn and cruelty of the Treacherous Tirant Phaulcon but whether they are living or murdered or what become of their Friggat the Pearl, God knows." The Commissioners, on reaching Ayuthia, found the second embassy from Louis XIV. at Louvo, and that the attention of the court was fully occupied with it, so that they did not expect to be listened to until the French ambassador had left. Their reception was at first decidedly inimical, as they were "severely confined and used," along with a hundred Englishmen, one report said; but they were soon released and well treated, the King promising to furnish Hodges with a ship for his transport, and to send ambassadors with him in the hope of bringing about a peace.

Hodges wrote to Mr. John Littleton and Mr. John Styleman at Madras,[2] that he had made the massacre at Mergui "his business upon the place," but he did not believe "much or anything, and did not know what to advise." The result of his inquiries was that most people agreed that thirty-three Englishmen and twenty Portuguese had been killed; but Samuel White, who must have known the number of Englishmen who were in Mergui at the time of the massacre, says about sixty of his countrymen were slain. It was afterwards ascertained from the French that only three Englishmen, of all who had been at Mergui, had escaped, and that they were saved by some Dutchmen who hid them. The women and children, about ten in all, were untouched. The French at Mergui gave no assistance, and were charged with having been consenting

[1] Letters from Madras. A Letter dated 13th September, 1688. J.J. b. 2, 3.

[2] Letter from Louvo, dated 12th December, 1687. Fort St. George Diary and Consultations. J.J. a. 1, 9.

spectators of the massacre; but, when this grave indictment was made, the two nations, France and England, were contending for Mergui, so that the feeling between the two peoples was anything but friendly, and this accusation was doubtless recorded when the animosity was at its height.

While at Louvo, Phaulkon had promised to show Hodges a letter he had received before the tragedy occurred, signed by Cropley, Triggs, and two other Englishmen, in which he was told that Mr. White and Mr. Burneby intended to make their escape in a ship belonging to the former. On the strength of this letter Phaulkon issued orders to the Siamese governor at Mergui to prevent their leaving. Mr. White also had written to him that ten English ships were arriving with hostile intentions against Mergui, and that it would be impossible to defend the port. Orders had therefore been sent to Samuel White to "deface the place and go to Siam." Hodges had also learned that the seizure of White's ship, the *Resolution,* by Captain Weltden had aroused the Siamese governor's suspicions, and had led him to consult with some rascally Dutchmen, who apparently had counselled the massacre of White and Burneby —a conspiracy to which he was afraid Captain Cropley was privy. The massacre, Hodges had ascertained, had been carried out by a "parcell of people made drunk, and mad," and who therefore "proceeded without any other consideration, then the more they murder'd, the more would be their proffit." In fact, it appears to have been a *muck* on a large scale. The native governor was apprehended at the instance of the Siamese Government, and sent to Louvo, on the suspicion that he had connived at the massacre, which was afterwards confirmed by a French source; and Captain Cropley was also made a prisoner, and, when Hodges wrote, was in confinement at Louvo. Hodges had been told that when the governor was to be examined, his flesh was to be pinched off with hot irons, and that one Dutchman and several natives

had also been seized, and were likewise in prison at Louvo. It was stated that the King was extremely grieved about the massacre, and was resolved that all who had had a part in it should be made to suffer.

The President and Council of Fort St. George, after they had learned all the salient facts regarding the catastrophe, called aloud for vengeance, and were certain that[1] "the King and Compa. will never put up soe great and unheard of a villany as soe inhumanly to surprise and destroy our people in Cold Blood under the pretended security of a truce wch. instead of excusing, the great and Base wretch impudently owns and vindicates the action;" and they also add, "tis also well known twas done by his private express order wthought the King's Priviewe. The innocent blood of these men 80 strangled English cryes allowed for vengeance and we doubt not but Just Heaven and our masters will see it revenged."

It is, however, conclusively shown, as already stated, on the evidence adduced by the Company themselves,[2] that their own officers, and not the Siamese, were the first to break the truce. Moreover, the charges they laid at Phaulkon's door are not supported by the evidence collected by Hodges on the spot, apart altogether from the other considerations already passed under review. In estimating the value to be attached to the foregoing statements of the President and Council at Fort St. George, it should be borne in mind that they as a Council still retained a vivid recollection of the injuries their trade and prestige had suffered, from Captain Coates' hostile actions against the King of Golconda, in 1685, and of which they regarded Phaulkon as the moving spirit.

In December 1687, shortly after the arrival of the second embassy from Louis XIV., the King of Siam

[1] Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George to Sir John Child, 13th September, 1688.

[2] The Answer of the East India Company, Appendix F. True and Impartial Narrative of Captain Anthony Weltden in his Management of Affairs in his late Mergen Expedition, p. 5, para. 18 and 20.

issued a proclamation declaring war against the East India Company, the outcome of their hostilities at Mergui. It was, of course, to be a naval war, but to be carefully confined to the seizing of ships belonging to the Company; and in this line of action his Majesty was very consistent, as we learn from De la Loubère[1] that the King of Siam, in his maritime wars, "proposes to himself only some Reprisals from some of his Neighbours, from whom he believes himself to have received some injury in Trade." So far from declaring war against the English nation generally, the proclamation contained a clause giving liberty to all English freemen to trade in Siam.

Effect was given to the proclamation in the early part of 1688, when two men-of-war manned by Frenchmen were dispatched from Ayuthia to lie in wait and capture the English ships bound for China, while others were sent out from Tenasserim under French colours, with similar aims against the English trading-ships in the Bay of Bengal.

In March of that year, the Council at Madras were informed that a ship supposed to belong to the King of Siam had been seen at Cuddalore, but the French Director at Pondicherry claimed it as French. On the 30th April, the English agent in Portonovo reported that a ship flying French colours had arrived there, and that a boat from the ship having made for the shore, two of the crew fled to the factory for protection, and offered their services to the English. They informed the agent that the ship had recently left Tenasserim, and that it belonged to the King of Siam, and was bound for Persia, and had several of the King's mandarins and servants on board, and that it was the intention of those on the ship to surprise the factory that night and to seize the Company's estate, and that the boat in which they had landed had brought arms for twenty men to execute the deed. The agent, thus forewarned, at once seized the boat, and attempted also to take

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

the ship itself, but failed to do so, the ship's crew retaliating by seizing a vessel belonging to the Company, and carrying it off to Pondicherry.

The troubles of the agent and of his comrades at Portonovo did not, however, end here, for the Siamese ship's company so stirred up the Mahratta Government, that they at once sent their troops to besiege the English factory and to cut off the water and provisions, so that the lives of the English and the Company's estate were in great danger. The *Bengal Merchant*, *Dragon*, and *Rochester* were sent to their assistance and in pursuit of the Siamese ship, and of another that was expected at Pondicherry; but on the 2nd May a report reached the agent that "the ship flying French colours was returning with great numbers of French and Siamese to assault the factory." This, fortunately, however, proved to be untrue, and, on the 4th May, news reached the agent that the Company's ship which had been seized and carried to Pondicherry had been restored, and that the differences between the two Governments had been settled.

The *Pearl* remained at Mergui at first "upon truce, though not without apprehension of danger;" but the vessel appears to have been afterwards seized by the Siamese, in accordance with the King's proclamation of war, as it is recorded that Mr John Hill, who had returned to Mergui, informed the authorities at Madras, through an Englishman in the French service, that he had been released with the *Pearl*. This happened a short time before the great revolution in which Phaulkon was killed, had broken out at Ayuthia, and which was doubtless a direct, but unlooked-for, result of the second embassy from Louis XIV. to the King of Siam.

The events connected with the advent of this embassy will form the subject of the concluding chapter of this work; but before proceeding to it, the further movements of the *Pearl* may be recorded. After leaving Mergui with Mr. Hill on board, the vessel was driven by contrary winds

to Malacca. Leaving that port, it sailed to Acheen, where Captain Perriman "quarrelled with a Siam sloop manned by Frenchmen, and forced her to cut and run ashore,"[1] and took the captain prisoner—an act of hostility in a neutral port, so resented by the Queen of Acheen, that for a short time she kept all the English in imprisonment.

The *Pearl* did not reach Fort St. George until nearly the 22nd December, 1688.[2] It was the first to bring the news to India that a great revolution had taken place at the capital of Siam, that the King was dead and Constance Phaulkon beheaded, report said, because he had conspired to kill the King.

Two days afterwards a French man-of-war arrived from Mergui, bringing a letter from Mr. John Threder confirming the news received by the *Pearl*, and reporting another massacre at Mergui and at Ayuthia. The former town had been in the possession of the French, but towards the end of June, 1688, they were driven forth by the Siamese, and had to escape by sea, and in their flight to their ships thirteen men were killed; and this was the massacre to which Threder referred. No general massacre of Europeans took place at Ayuthia in the seventeenth century, but the French were attacked, and doubtless lost some men, and many Europeans were also imprisoned there in that year.

Shortly after the arrival of the *Pearl*, Mr. John Hill and Captain James Perriman were called up before the Council on the 24th December, and were questioned regarding the discharge of their commission, where they had been, and how they had disposed of their time and concerns since their departure; but as the subject was found to be too lengthy for discussion, they were ordered to submit a journal and diary of their voyage and affairs, with an

[1] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, 13th November, 1688.

[2] Minutes of the President and Council, Fort St. George, 22nd December, 1688.

account of all new transactions and concerns of moment.[1]

The news of the revolution at Siam, and of the death of the King and execution of Phaulkon, were transmitted to the Court of Directors by the first ship that sailed for England.

[1] This document probably exists among the Records at Madras.

CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH EMBASSY OF 1687.

THE second embassy sent by Louis XIV. to Siam was organised on a more magnificent scale than the mission of 1685.

Two envoys-extraordinary were sent, one, M. De la Loubère, to represent the King, and the other, M. Cébert, to act as envoy for the French East India Company.

Father Tachard, historian of the first embassy, who had gone to Paris with the Siamese ambassadors, returned with them in the suite of M. De la Loubère, who was also accompanied by the Bishop of Rosalie. The Jesuits, now at the height of their ascendancy in France, under their obedient patron Louis XIV., were represented by twelve fathers.

The dignity of this embassy was upheld by a body of 1400 armed men,[1] commanded by M. Des Farges, a field-marshal of France. It represented politics, commerce, and religion, backed and supported by a small army, a conception worthy of Louis and his Jesuits, but, notwithstanding, doomed to ignominious defeat.

An embassy so constituted could not but attract the notice of our countrymen, who had been so deeply interested in Siam long before the French Company appeared at Ayuthia in 1680. We consequently learn from a Lon-

[1] H. Martin, Histoire de France, t. xiv. p. 29, says a corps of troops was sent; but in the London Gazette, 1687, it is said several companies of troops.

don source[1] that the embassy sailed from Brest on the 2nd March, 1687,[2] in a squadron composed of three men-of-war and four other ships.[3]

This imposing squadron anchored in the road-stead of the Menam river on the 27th September, 1687.[4]

As the troops had now been for over six months at sea, the first matter to occupy the attention of the ambassadors was their removal from the ships and the provision of suitable quarters for them on land. The forts at Bangkok, which had formerly been under the governorship of the Comte de Forbin and his successor M. Beauregard, were under the command of an old Portuguese captain when the embassy arrived, and were garrisoned by a few Portuguese, English, and French troops, but the mass of the soldiery were Siamese, who had been taught the French exercise of arms by the Count de Forbin, and afterwards by an Englishman who had learned it from the Count.[5] Forbin had left for Pondicherry, and M. Beauregard had been sent to Mergui after the massacre to pacify the English and Siamese.

It has been stated[6] that the troops had been sent in response to a request made by the King of Siam to Louis XIV. through his ambassadors; but from all that has been written on this subject, it would appear that the idea was first broached by the Jesuits as a means of strengthening their position and that of their nation, and was eagerly adopted by Phaulkon for similar reasons, as he had now cast in his lot with France. The King, however, seems to have been astonished and to have had his suspicions

[1] London Gazette, Paris correspondent's letter, No. 2223, 15th March, 1687.

[2] In the Second Voyage du Père Tachard, Paris, 1689, p. 16, it is said the embassy weighed anchor on the 1st March, 1687.

[3] In H. Martin's Histoire de France, t. xiv. p. 29, it is stated that there were only six ships; and in a letter to Sir John Child dated 17th January, 1688, it is also said that there were only that number.

[4] Second Voy. du Père Tachard, p. 143; New Hist. Relation of Siam, De la Loubère, p. 1.

[5] A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam, London, 1693, p. 91.

[6] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, t. ii. p. 174.

aroused by the arrival of so large a body of armed men, and at first emphatically declined to permit them to land; and the diplomatic Phaulkon would not give his consent to their disembarkment until a treaty which he had drawn up, doubtless to calm the suspicions of the King, had been signed, but the provisions of which we do not know. It was, however, ultimately arranged by Phaulkon that they should land, and that they should garrison the forts at Bangkok on both sides of the river, and also Mergui, where a fort was to be built by them. General Des Farges, who was accompanied by his two sons, both captains in the army, was appointed to the command of the troops at Bangkok.

After the ambassadors and troops had landed, the letters and presents from the King of France were presented to his Majesty of Siam in public audience, and probably on the same occasion the honours Louis XIV. had sent to Phaulkon were conferred on him. From the Records of the India Office[1] we learn that Phaulkon was made a Count of France and a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. Peter, and had bestowed on him many valuable gifts, accompanied by a letter from Louis XIV., who addressed him as his loving cousin and councillor.[2] He at the same time received a number of presents from Pope Innocent XI.

M. Cébert, the envoy representing the Compagnie Française, and his son, were the first members of the embassy to leave Ayuthia. Constant Phaulkon urged the envoy to delay his departure, as, in view of the disfavour with which the English and the Dutch were then regarded, no time could have been more auspicious for securing from the King for the Compagnie Française a sound and lasting position at Ayuthia. M. Cébert, however, pled that he

[1] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, dated 17th January, 1688.

[2] A New Account of the East Indies. Alex. Hamilton. Vol. ii. p. 172. Hamilton says, "The King of *France* complimented Mr. *Falcon* with the Order of Knighthood."

had been intrusted with another mission, which would not admit of further delay, as he had to proceed to the court of the Great Mogul to deliver a letter from Louis XIV. A private interview was accordingly arranged towards the end of November, when he and his son were received by the King, and a few days afterwards they departed on their journey to India. They first travelled overland to Mergui by boats, elephants, and palanquins, accompanied by a great retinue of mandarins. On arriving there, they embarked in a ship belonging to the French Company, which had been sent over to meet them, and on which were M. Delandres of Pondicherry and the Count de Forbin, who had proceeded to the latter town from Ayuthia. The vessel went first to Madras, and when Elihu Yale heard, on the 14th January, 1688, that it was lying off the port, he and his Council sent the "French padre"[1] to "salute those on board, and to inquire what news they brought." The padre reported that "the French King's ambassador to the King of Siam, also Mons. Delandres,[2] were on board," but that they begged to be excused coming on shore, as their business required them to hasten on to Pondicherry, but they sent the Chevalier de Forbin to return their salute, inform them of the news from "Siam and Merge," and to deliver a letter from Captain Perriman of the *Pearl*, which was lying at the latter port at the time they were there.

The Count de Forbin relates,[3] that when he went ashore, Elihu Yale, whom he mentions as the English Director, carried him off to his house, where he gave the Count a great dinner, and that a salute was fired in his honour. The company drank to the health of the King of England and to Him of France, and to the two royal families, the cannon thundering out a salute as each of the toasts was given. Forbin mentions that Phaulkon was not spared

[1] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, dated 17th January, 1688.

[2] In Forbin's Memoir he is called Delande, tome i. p. 228.

[3] *Op. cit.*, tome ii. p. 238.

during the repast, and as he describes his host, Elihu Yale, as Count Phaulkon's sworn enemy, we can well credit this.

The ship afterwards sailed to Pondicherry, where M. Cébert, his son, and Forbin embarked for Brest, where they arrived in July, 1688, nothing more having been recorded about the letter the envoy was to deliver to the Great Mogul.

M. De la Loubère and the rest of the embassy left Bangkok on the 3rd January, 1688,[1] with a letter from the King to Louis, and with three mandarins in charge of it, and a number of Siamese youths to be educated in France. He was also accompanied by Father Tachard, who went as envoy-extraordinary from the King of Siam to the King of France and to the Pope.

The movements of Père Tachard, and of the mandarins who accompanied him, after they had arrived in Europe, were occasionally noticed in the newspapers of the day. A correspondent of one paper[2] wrote from Paris on the 1st February, 1689:—"The Sieurs *Mandarins* have had a private Audience of the King at *Versailles*. *T. Tachard*, a Jesuit, there presented his Majesty with a Letter from the King of *Spain* (evidently a misprint for Siam), and Complemented him in the name of the Prince. The *Mandarins* at their entrance and going out, made the usual Salutations by prostrating themselves after the mode of their Countrey." And in another newspaper[3] it is said:—"Our letters from *Paris* of the 21*st*. Instant, give the following Account (*viz.*) that the *Siamites* Ambassadors had their first Audience, being conducted in the King's Coaches from *Paris* to *Versailles*, to whome they kneeled down and prostrated themselvs, Father *Tachard* a Jesuit, Interpreted their Speech and Letter of Credence, and informed his Majestie of the Multitude of Christians the Jesuits have made in *Siam*, their Lodging is at the *Hottel* of Extraordinary Ambassadors, in the *Fauxbourg* St. *Germain*."

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 1.
[2] The London Intelligence, No. 10, 1689.
[3] Harlem Currant, No. 2, for 14th February to 19th February, 1689.

The country appears to have remained perfectly quiet after the departure of the embassy, but when the time arrived for dispatching the French troops to garrison Mergui,[1] the suspicions of the mandarins as to the ultimate intentions of the French were excited. Four companies of troops were sent overland, under the command of Lieutenant or Major Debrüan,[2] who was aided by three captains, three lieutenants, and three ensigns. M. Beauregard, the late governor of the Bangkok forts, was also sent, accompanied by Père d'Espagnac.

When the King of Siam fell ill, in May, 1688, at his royal palace at Louvo, the leading mandarins met secretly, unknown to the King or to Phaulkon, and intrusted the management of the affairs of the kingdom to Phra-Phet-Raxa. This man had been originally a fruit-seller,[3] but by his abilities had raised himself to the high position

[1] It has been stated by Hassel in the 14th vol. of Gaspari's "*Vollständiges Handbuch der neuesten Erdbeschreibung*," entitled "*Vollständige und neueste Erdbesch. der beiden Ostind Halbinseln so wie der Vorder- und Hinterindischen Ins.*," &c., Dr. G. Hassel, Weimar, 1822, p. 822, that King Island, the largest island of the Mergui group, and therefore called by the Portuguese Ilha Grande, was made over to the French by the King of Siam for the establishment of a French colony, and for the prosecution of their trade; but that they never took possession of it. Hassel gives Forrest's Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, published in 1792, and Walter Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, 1815, as his authorities for the information contained in his article on the Mergui Archipelago, *l.c.*, pp. 822–823, but I have not been able to find in these works any passage supporting Dr. Hassel's statement that the island was ever made over to the French by the Siamese Government, beyond Forrest's remark that "The French used to frequent King's Island near Mergui, and taught the natives how to build ships, not only there, but at Rangoon in Pegu." Forrest's visit to the islands was made in 1783.

The French, however, did make use of the island in some way, probably as a place of rendezvous for the ships of war, and a recollection of their connection with it survives to the present day in the name of the large bay on its eastern side, which was spoken of to me at Mergui as "French Bay" by Captain John Butler, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the district when I visited the Archipelago in 1881–82.

[2] The name of this officer is sometimes written Bruham and Bruant, but Tachard uses the form adopted in the text.

[3] Alex. Hamilton, *l.c.*, vol. ii., London ed., p. 175, on whose authority the above statement is made, derived his information regarding Phra-Phet-Raxa from Mr. Bashpoole, who had held the office of private secretary to Phaulkon.

of generalissimo of the army, and had recently returned the crowned hero of the Cambojan and Cochin-China campaigns.

This conspiracy brought about the revolution in Siam of 1688, which has been described by various authors, but by none more graphically and circumstantially than by the anonymous writer of that curious book published in 1690, entitled "A Full and True Relation," &c.[1] This work does not appear to have been known to Crawford, Pallegoix, or Bowring.

The King had chosen his adopted son, or son-in-law as he is sometimes called, to be his successor on the throne, but in doing so he had given great offence to the nobles, as the youth was a Christian, under the sway of the Jesuits, and in their eyes a creature of the French.[2] They were resolved to prevent his succession, and to accomplish this, they determined to strike a blow at French influence, and selected Phaulkon as their first victim. After his destruction the King himself died, either a natural death or was treacherously killed,[3] and then in quick succession his brothers, his adopted son or son-in-law, and his only daughter, the princess or wife of the latter, were murdered, but in no common fashion. These royal personages were first tied in sacks of the finest velvet, so that they might

[1] The following is the exact title of this work: "A Full and True Relation of the *Great and Wonderful REVOLUTION* That hapned lately in the KINGDOM of SIAM, In the East-Indies. Giving a particular Account of the Seizing and Death of the Late King, and of the Setting up of a New One. As also Of the putting to Death of the King's only Daughter, His Adopted Son who was a Christian, his two Brothers; And of Monsieur *Constance*, his great Minister of State, and Favourer of the *FRENCH*. AND Of the Expulsion of all the Jesuits, Missionary Priests, Officers, and Soldiers of the *FRENCH* Nation out of that Kingdom, that endeavoured to bring it under the *FRENCH* Domination. *Being the substance of several letters writ in* Octob. 1688 *and* Febr. 1689. *From* SIAM, *and the Coast of* COROMANDEL, *Never before publisht in any Language, and now translated into* English."

[2] Kæmpfer gives a somewhat different account of the origin of the revolution, and ascribes it chiefly to Phaulkon's action, who, he says, had conspired against the rightful heir to the throne, with the object of placing the adopted son of the King, a Christian, on the throne.

[3] Letter from Madras to the Honourable East India Company, dated January, 168 8/9.

not be polluted by the touch of any vulgar hand, and then no ordinary "instrument of mortality" compassed their deaths, as their lives were clubbed out of them with great bars of the sweet smelling eagle-wood, each sack with its mangled burden being then cast into the Menam.

Towards the end of 1688, the authorities at Fort St. George[1] wrote to the Court of Directors in London that they had "lately rece^d^ strange news of the Great Revolution at Siam, the late King, about May last, being seized with a tedious and mortal sickness at Levo. His General a Siamese, some time before his death, possessing himself of his Pallace and garrison privately sending for Phaulkon in the Old Kings name to come to him in haste upon some pretended urgent business, who no sooner within the palace gate at Levo, but his guards were surprized and himself confined a prisoner by the General, and after some days severe usage and torture for the discovery of his estate &c., was ignominiously brought out to public execution and beheaded and his body cut to pieces, and the poor mangled Phaulkon scattered among the clawing vultures, and his great estate and family seized for the King's service." Before he met his doom, Phaulkon "took his Seal, two silver Crosses, a relic set in gold, which he wore on his breast, being a present from the Pope, as also the Order of St *Michael*, which was sent him by the King of *France*, and deliver'd them to a *Mandarin*, who stood by, desiring him to give them to his little Son,"[2] who, when Kæmpfer was there, went begging with his mother from door to door. These facts prove that the East India Company had been misinformed when they stated[3] that Phaulkon had sent the boy to France to be educated as a Papist.

The wife of Phaulkon was a Japanese lady, the daughter of honourable parents, Christian refugees from Japan.[4] The

[1] Letter from Madras to the Honourable East India Company, London, dated January, 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

[2] Kæmpfer, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] Answer of the East India Company.

[4] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, t. ii. p. 407.

Jesuits spoke in the highest terms of her bearing under her sufferings after the death of her husband; and Alexander Hamilton, who saw her in 1719, when she was honoured with the superintendence of the King's confectionery, says she had gained the respect of the court and city by her prudence and humanity to natives and strangers. In view of her Christian character and kindly womanly nature, as evinced in her conduct to those around her, a story told by Kæmpfer to her discredit had better be left untold.

Phra-Phet-Raxa, having disposed of all possible competitors to the throne, proceeded against the Christians as a body, imprisoning the French, English, and Portuguese;[1] but according to the foregoing letter in the India Office, the Dutch "remained so much in favour as made them suspected to be at least privy to the conspiracy."

The French officers who were at Louvo, hearing of the severe measures that had been taken with the Portuguese, and especially with the English, among whom were Hodges and the members of his mission,[2] resolved to escape from their semi-imprisonment to the French factory at Ayuthia; but they were intercepted on the way, and carried back to Louvo, suffering so great hardships on the road from the hands of their military captors, that one of their number died. At Louvo they were chained two and two together by the neck, and cast into prison, along with their servants, and all the other Frenchmen resident at that town.

Nothing of what had been taking place at Louvo was known to the French either at Bangkok or at Mergui; but

[1] The Portuguese, however, must have formed a very unimportant part of the European population of the capital, as Van Vliet mentions that in 1690 they were reduced to a few miserable half-castes, who were indistinguishable by their colour from the natives, whereas formerly they had been the most powerful and influential merchants in the whole kingdom of Siam.

[2] Letter from Madras to the Honourable Company, dated January 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

as the French were too numerous and strong to be dealt with in a body, like the Portuguese and comparatively few English, the leading spirit of the revolution determined if possible by stratagem to induce the French commanders at Bangkok [1] and Mergui to vacate those forts and bring their troops either to Louvo or Ayuthia. He accordingly sent as messenger to General Des Farges, at Bangkok, one of the mandarins who had been to France, with a request that the General would come to Louvo to consult with the King on urgent business. Utterly unsuspicious of any deception on the part of his old friend the mandarin, now Phra-klang, Des Farges at once resolved to proceed to Louvo, and started by water on the 7th June, accompanied by his two sons and the Phra-klang. Certain scenes he witnessed on the way to Louvo, and the hurried manner in which the journey was made, and in which he was conducted to the palace without being first permitted to visit the Jesuits resident in that town, tended to excite his suspicions. Once in the palace or castle, he was visited by Phra-Phet-Raxa, who proceeded to lay before him the object for which he had asked him to come to Louvo. But at first he explained to Des Farges that Phaulkon had been killed by order of the King, as he had mismanaged the duties with which he had been intrusted. This blow to the French cause, the news of which now reached M. Des Farges for the first time, of course confirmed his suspicions, and thus led him to exercise the greatest circumspection in what followed.

Phra-Phet-Raxa then stated that the King was at war with the Cochin-Chinese and the people of Laos, and that as they threatened to invade Siam, he wished all the French troops from Bangkok and Mergui to march against them to prevent the invasion of the kingdom. He had therefore sent for M. Des Farges to request him to order up his

[1] The accounts given by D'Orleans and by the author of the "Full and True Relation" differ in many particulars, as does also Kæmpfer's. The above account is taken chiefly from the "Full and True Relation."

soldiers from Bangkok, and had written to Major Debrüan calling on him also to return to Louvo with his troops.

M. des Farges saw plainly now that "these Proposals were nothing but a mere contrivance, and like so many Snares that they had laid to catch him;" so he replied "That the King of France, his Master, had sent him to serve the King of Siam, and that he was now ready to obey his Commands: But that he thought it highly necessary to go himself in person to Bancock, to bring the Soldiers with him, in regard that the Officers that commanded in his Absence, would not quit the fortress upon a bare Letter." This seemed so reasonable, that he obtained leave to return to the fort, but he had to leave his two sons behind him as hostages for the performance of his promise. He had also before leaving to write a letter to Major Debrüan, ordering him to return with his men to Louvo, but he "did so disguise his Hand and Stile, by chusing such extravagant Terms and unusual Expressions, as that Monsieur Bruham might know, in case the Letter came into his hands, there was some further Mystery in it, and that he was not to give Credit to it; and by good Providence, it fell out just as he could have wished, the Letter being received and understood in the Sense it was designed."[1]

M. Des Farges, on his return to Bangkok, drew all his men into the larger fort, and destroyed all the buildings outside by fire, and spiked every gun he could not carry away from the deserted fort. Phra-Phet-Raxa, finding that his designs were discovered by the French, sent a large body of Mahommedans, Chinese, and Malays to besiege the fort, "with orders to cut all their throats." The French believed that the Dutch[2] had assisted the Siamese against the French in the siege. The determined bravery, however, of the two hundred[3] French soldiers in Bangkok

[1] A Full and True Relation, &c.

[2] Madras Letter, January 168$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] In Des Farges' "Relation des Révolutions arrivées à Siam," p. 8, it is stated that he had only two hundred troops with him.

withstood a siege of two months, and repulsed every attack with great loss to the enemy. In order to try and bring about a capitulation, Phra-Phet-Raxa ordered the Bishop of Metellopolis to be stripped and tied to a gibbet, with a halter about his neck, at the spot most exposed to the fire of the French cannon, and in view of his beleaguered countrymen. This method of treating prisoners seems to have been a favourite one with the Siamese in those days, as Kæmpfer[1] relates that a Buddhist priest of Pegu who had plotted against them, in 1689, was dealt with much in the same way as this priest of Rome. While these deeds were being transacted, all the French in Ayuthia and at Louvo were treated with great severity and cast into prison, and the French Jesuits and missionary priests throughout the kingdom were seized and carried to Louvo, and their goods confiscated. The determined bravery of the little French garrison brought its reward, as, on the 25th July, the Bishop of Metellopolis was freed from his gibbet and halter, and sent into the fort to negotiate a peace with M. Des Farges, and, shortly after this, the report was spread that the King was dead, but the day and manner of his death were unknown.

Phra-Phet-Raxa then left Louvo in great state, and was crowned King of Siam and Tenasserim[2] at the capital, in the beginning of August, 1688. In the Madras letter to the Company it is said that "had the Siamese General not anticipated him, Phaulkon would have seized the crown for the French King and himself the Plott wants only a few days for execution."[3]

On the 30th September peace was concluded, on the conditions that the French surrendered the forts at Bangkok, and that all the troops with their officers should leave the kingdom, the Siamese undertaking to provide two ships for their transport to Pondichery, and to supply provisions

[1] Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[3] See also A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlement and Trade of the East and West Indies, by G. J. F. Raynal, 1776, 8vo, vol. i. p. 410.

for the voyage.[1] On the conclusion of this treaty, all the French and English who had been made prisoners were liberated, and were brought together to Ayuthia; but in another account it is said that they were all liberated on the day after the coronation.

The President and Council at Madras, in their letter to the Court, written in January $168\frac{8}{9}$, gave the following account of the events that happened after Phaulkon's death; they say—"Soon after his great patron the old King dyed and supposed by violence, as also his two brothers and Creada, who he intended successor to the Crown, but the General having despatched them all proclaims himself King engaging all the forces to his interest, and soon after confines all the English and French at Levo and Siam, the Dutch remaining free and so much in favour as made them suspected to be at least privy to the conspiracy, the French say assisting against them in the siege of Bankoke which the French General Mons. Desfargie to the new Kings summons, he brought down 20,000 men against it, and after a few weeks dispute brought the French to surrender upon honourable conditions and to supply them with ships and provisions for their transport to Pullicherry. . . ."

Shortly after the massacre of the English at Mergui, French influence became paramount and a Frenchman was appointed almost immediately to the high office of governor of the town, poor Richard Burneby having been one of the victims of the outbreak. Nine months had hardly passed when it was still further consolidated, as in the month of March 1688 Major Debrüan[2] marched into the town at the head of a strong body of French troops and began the construction of a fort. The Siamese governor at first gave him every assistance in this work, supplying

[1] Pallegoix, *op. cit.*, t. ii. p. 180. A Full and True Relation, &c., p. 17.

[2] In Modern Universal History, 2nd Div. vol. iii. pp. 398–399, 1795, M. Debrüan's experiences at Mergui are described from information derived chiefly from the Mémoires du Comte de Forbin, Amsterdam, 1730, 12°., and Histoire General des Voyages, t. xii. p. 175 *et seq.*, Hague, 1755.

him with materials and men. The Frenchman, however, noticed, as the work progressed, that the natives, workmen and officials, did not pay to him the same deference as at first, and when he proceeded to carry out an order of the court at Ayuthia to dismantle a small fort occupied by a body of disciplined Siamese soldiers led by another Frenchman, and situated on a low eminence commanded by the higher fort he was building, he found himself so vigorously opposed by the governor that he had to desist. He, however, sent a messenger to Constant Phaulkon, lodging a complaint against the governor, but his messenger was arrested on the road. He now received hints from several quarters that a conspiracy was being formed against his countrymen. He therefore proceeded to take steps to secure his own safety and that of his men in case they were attacked in the new and incompleted fort, and with this object in view he seized two small ships, one of which was said to be an English vessel, and the other a frigate of twenty-six guns belonging to the King of Siam. These two vessels he brought alongside the fort, so that they might be easily accessible if he should be driven to vacate the place. The precaution was a wise one, as shortly afterwards, probably about the middle of June, the letter from Des Farges was delivered to him, calling on him to proceed with his men to Louvo, but the General had so suspiciously worded the letter, that Debrüan, seeing it unsigned, at once concluded that something was wrong, and declined to comply with the order it contained. The Siamese, seeing his determination not to move, proceeded at once to attack him with a large body of men, but he held his position, and repulsed every assault. At last they threw up a small battery on a temple near the fort and partly commanding it, and at first their success was considerable; but Debrüan erected another small battery which effectually silenced it, and also killed the chief gunner, a Portuguese, so that the Siamese gave up all hope of being able to capture the fort except by starving out the garrison. A water-famine, however, was

the enemy that was to enter the fort and drive its brave defenders to seek refuge in the ships lying ready for them under the protection of its cannon. The well ran suddenly dry, so there was no course left but to vacate the fort and retire to the ships. On the 24th June, their exit from the fort was conducted so regularly and orderly, that their besiegers were under the impression that they had issued forth with the purpose of attacking them; and so impressed were they with the prowess of the French, that they retired before them, and left them a free passage to the sea. The glacis, however, of the fort was muddy, and some soldiers who brought up the rear slipped and fell on their comrades immediately in front of them, and a panic being thus created, the men broke their ranks and rushed off to the ships. The Siamese were not slow to take advantage of this, and attacked them in great numbers, and killed about thirteen men, others being drowned, whilst one was made a prisoner. Debrüan with some of his officers and men withstood the onslaught of the enemy while the rest of his men were embarking. Once in the ships, they managed to escape with the vessels, although they were pursued by some Siamese war-boats. Their troubles, however, were not at an end; but before we follow them farther, the fate of a Frenchman commanding some Siamese in another small fort has to be noticed.

His name has not been revealed, but he kept a diary, which is published,[1] and from it we learn that he was not attacked until the 25th June, when he was seized by his own troops and made a prisoner, and for four days together was fastened to a stake with iron chains round his body and on his hands and feet. On the 29th he was taken out to be shown his countrymen who had been killed during the heroic defence by M. Debrüan. He saw about thirteen dead bodies lying about the glacis. He was afterwards subjected to torture by order of the mandarins command-

[1] A Full and True Relation, &c., pp. 19–22.

ing the army, to force him to declare that he had often heard Monsieur Debrüan say, "That his being and commanding at Morgen was altogether unknown to the King of Siam, and by the order of Monsieur Constance only, on purpose to make himself Master of the Countrey; and that Monsieur de Bruham expected several Ships with Men, Arms, and Ammunition from France, to enable him to carry out that Design more effectually." The latter part of this charge was very much the same as that which had been brought against Samuel White. The unfortunate Frenchman, after enduring these tortures, was sent overland to Ayuthia in chains with a French soldier, Picquard, who had been made prisoner on the day of Debrüan's escape. They left Mergui on the 7th July, and arrived at Ayuthia on the 17th of the same month, and on the 18th at Louvo. They were then sent along with some other French officers to Bangkok, where they were kept prisoners for a month, but were liberated on the conclusion of the peace. This Frenchman was again sent to Mergui on the 2nd October, accompanied by a mandarin, to find out any tidings about Monsieur Debrüan. He arrived there on the 12th October, but could learn nothing regarding him. He therefore set sail on the 1st November in a frigate belonging to the King of Siam, and visited the estuaries at Tavoy, Martaban, and Syriam, in search of Debrüan, but failing to find him, and having to pass King Island, he went ashore at "Seroide, where by some certain marks" he knew that M. Debrüan had landed, as he found "some pieces of the French soldiers Cloaths, that seem'd to have been left there on purpose" to let it be known that they had been there.

He returned to Mergui on the 12th November, and finding a ship called *Le Cocq* belonging to the French, he embarked in it on the 14th November, and went to Pondicherry, to await the arrival of General Des Farges and the expelled troops.

In his escape, Debrüan was accompanied by M. Beau-

regard and by D'Espagnac, the Jesuit. After leaving Mergui they experienced severe storms, and a still greater misfortune befell them, as MM. Beauregard and D'Espagnac, on going ashore at one place for provisions, were seized by the natives and made slaves. Those who remained in this ship were afterwards driven on to a desert island, and reduced to the utmost extremity, but at the end of September a French vessel put in and took them off.[1] They then made for Bengal, but in the roadstead of Balasor they encountered fourteen English ships, and the vessel they were in was seized as belonging to the King of Siam. The captured Frenchmen were first carried to Madras, but were afterwards liberated and sent to Pondicherry, which they reached on the 15th January, 1689.

In the letter to the Court, already so often quoted, it is said that the President and Council at Madras had news that the French "fort at Mergee is also deserted where they lost many men in their escape aboard 2 ships in that river, whence they sailed for Bengall where Capt. Heath being informed that the ships belonged to the King of Siam, made prizes of them, intending to send them hither to be tried and adjudged at our Courts of Admiralty which Mons. Martin Director at Pullicherry highly resents in his several complaining letters which were duly answered, assuring him of a just and fair trial for them, and we doubt not but our proofs will fully satisfy them of their legal seizure, and the truth is we have great reason to complain of their injustice to your Hon: Coy. by their owning manning and protecting the King of Siams shipps and trade with frenchmen and their passes and colours, which has deceived us of many considerable prizes, but just Providence hath rewarded their false services, who were lately consenting spectators to the Siamers inhuman massacre of the English at Mergee, were soon after subjects of it themselves."

[1] The Modern Part of Univ. Hist., vol. iii. pp. 398-399, 1759.

General Des Farges and his troops, along with thirty-five Englishmen, left Bangkok towards the end of November, 1688, in three merchant ships and a French man-of-war, leaving behind him his two sons as hostages, and also the Bishop of Metellopolis, who had been likewise detained, to answer by his head for the return of two of the ships and the crews, which had been lent by the King of Siam to carry the troops to Pondicherry. Des Farges, however, took the precaution to carry off two mandarins and the King's factor[1] as hostages, an act which was considered by the Siamese to have been a breach of good faith, which entailed very serious consequences to the French missionaries and laity who remained behind, as they were cast into prison and treated with great severity.

In a letter in the India Office, dated 16th January, 1689, and written on board the *Cæsar*, in Acheen Road, by Mr. Salwey and Mr. Abraham Navarro, it is stated that they had heard that a French man-of-war and three merchant ships, with all the French and thirty-six Englishmen from Siam, had sailed out of Malacca Road; and in the Records of Fort St. George, dated 1st February, 1689, a Minute mentions the receipt by the President of a letter from the French General Monsieur "de Fargy," who had arrived at Pondicherry with four ships and 500 soldiers and saying that he had sent the English ashore. In this Minute it is said, "The French forces and interest is totally extirpated that country, none of them remaining except some few priests, who are cruelly condemned to miserable cabins and slavery, upon whose misfortunes the Dutch have greatly advanced themselves, and are now the sole Europe nation settled there, and have engrost the

[1] Kæmpfer relates that *Monproncena*, a Siam merchant, accompanied his ship from Batavia to Bangkok, and informed him that he had been the late King of Siam's factor, and in the late revolution. He had been made a prisoner by the French, who took from him the goods that had been intrusted to him by the King, and some of his own, and had set him ashore at Pulicat, where the governor received him kindly, and sent him with his family to Batavia. *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

chief trade of the place, excepting Mergee and Tanasserie which are under its native Government."[1]

Mr. Hodges remained on at Ayuthia for some considerable time after Mr. Hill's departure and after the French had gone. He soon, however, found himself in difficulties, and in a sad condition for want of money; so much so, that he was compelled to draw "two bills of exchange"[2] on the authorities at Fort St. George, for the support of the lives of those that were with him. He embarked in the ship *Ruby*, probably in April or May, 1689, with most of the English left behind at Ayuthia, and arrived at Acheen in the month of June. The ship then sailed to Balasor, where Mr. Hodges died.[3]

It was afterwards found that his long stay in Ayuthia had not been unattended with some good, as he carried with him overtures of peace from the new King of Siam, and an expression of his desire to settle all differences with the Honourable Company. Hodges' later treatment at Ayuthia by the Siamese authorities had been very friendly,[4] and the English had been freely permitted to depart. The Phra-klang had also assured Hodges that the English nation would be welcome to trade as of old, and that they should have all their former privileges and due encouragement.[5]

Immediately before or after the departure of General Des Farges, the Dutch, who had remained passive during the revolution, now that they had witnessed the destruction of the French attempts to establish themselves in Siam, at once resumed their wonted activity in trade, and on the 14th November, 1688, concluded a contract with the King of Siam—in reality a renewal of an old contract dating as far back as the 12th June, 1617. In this document the Dutch agreed to bury in oblivion some recent

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., O.C. 5698.

[2] Letters from Mr. Hodges dated 27th August and 11th October, 1688.

[3] Ind. Off. Rec., O.C., 5698.

[4] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, dated January $168\frac{8}{9}$.

[5] Letter from Fort St. George to Court of Directors, dated 1st February, 1690.

grievance they had against the Siamese when the offending parties were punished. The Dutch were to make compensation and restoration of some shipping, &c., and they were to be allowed to trade in all the King's dominions on conforming to the existing regulations. They were also permitted to seize and confiscate Siamese junks navigated by Chinese or to "improper places," and to retain the exclusive trade in deer and cow skins. Any who had contracted debts with the Dutch were to be amenable only to the Dutch President and authorities. The King of Siam was to be supplied by them with from 7000 to 10,000 deer-skins when he wanted them. He was to send no embassy to the "Great Chan" unless the Dutch were at peace with him. The Siamese were permitted to trade freely to all places not at war with the Dutch, but the latter were not to be allowed to attack their enemies in the harbours of Siam. They were to have the monopoly of tin, and the two nations were to give mutual assistance to vessels in distress.

In 1690, the French dispatched a fleet of six ships to the Bay of Bengal, on one of which was Père Tachard and his secretary, and the mandarins who had accompanied him to France. The fleet went first to Balasor, where finding a Moorish ship going to Mergui, the Siamese ambassadors embarked in it for their own country,[1] but Père Tachard remained on in the *Dragon* at Balasor. The other five ships, with General Des Farges on board, sailed to the coast of the Malayan peninsula, and appeared off Junk-Ceylon, where a message announcing his return and that the Siamese mandarins had been brought back, was sent overland to the capital. No sooner did this news reach the King than he ordered all the French priests to be liberated from the imprisonment they had endured, and under the acute suffering of which, many of their number had died.

[1] Relation du Voy. et Retour des Indes Orientales, 1693, pp. 232, 238: according to Stuck the author of this book was Mich. Pouchot Chantassin.

Kæmpfer visited the French clergy shortly after they had regained their liberty. He found them "living cheerfully in little houses built of bamboo reed," and his opinion of Monseigneur Louis, the Metropolitan Bishop, was that he was "a Gentleman of profound learning, and thoroughly versed in the religion of *Siam* and the Language of their holy books and priests." By his Christian doctrine and exemplary life the pious Bishop had "gain'd so much on the Hearts of his Keepers, as another *Paul*, that they venerated him as a holy Minister of God Almighty."[1]

Père Tachard, after he had departed from Balasor, went in the *Dragon* to Pondicherry, and thence to Mergui, where he landed towards the end of 1690. He brought with him a letter from the King of France to the King of Siam, and numerous presents from the Pope to the unfortunate Phaulkon and his wife.

He at once wrote to the Phra-klang informing him that he had brought with him an order from the King of France to terminate all the difficulties that had arisen, and to renew the alliance between the two crowns.

The news of these fresh overtures from France to Siam were quickly brought to the notice of the Company, as in the records of Fort St. George there is an entry to the effect that the authorities there had heard that the French designed great things for Siam, Tenasserim, and Bengal. The new King of Siam, however, did not confine his attentions wholly to the French, as the President and Council wrote about the same time to Sir John Child that the new King of Siam was very anxious that the Company should return to trade in his capital; but they added, "he was not very ready or inclinable to pay their debt." This information, and the previous news they had heard regarding the intentions of the French, doubtless led the authorities at Fort St. George to take advantage of a

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

country-vessel going to Ayuthia, in June, 1690, to address the Phra-klang. This document was, however, only signed by the President, Elihu Yale.[1] It begins by congratulating the King on his accession, and then at once proceeds to say that "his great and virtuous character promised no less than Justice also to the Rt Hon. Comp. and English nation, by a due satisfaction for all the injuries and wrongs they had lately recd by means of that unhappy malicious instrument Constant Phaulkon, as also for the several sums and Debts due to us from the late King, on several accounts, as well for money lent his Ambassadors and Persia, and hire for their services and reputation of his people and nation as appears by the copies of their several obligations and accounts herewith sent you, which you may be fully informed in, by Hodjie Sellin the last Kings Ambassador, which I humbly entreat your Excellency to recommend effectually to His Majesty, and to receive the same from us, to be sent by this ship which will encourage to our sudden return and trade, and a cessation of all difficulties and hostility, and endeavour always to oblige and secure your friendship, but if these just desires are disregarded and denied us, we must of necessity have recourse to such ways and methods for the recovery of our rights as we are unwilling to, but I am well assured your justice and prudence will prevent any such new troubles, but rather study and contrive all ways to promote the good and honour of your King and country."

As time went on, not only the Siamese began to wish for peace, but also the East India Company, as appears from a letter written from Surat to the Court on the 4th May, 1691, in which it is said: "Sometime since we received certain advices from Madras, that the new King of Siam had treated several of our English ships with much civility and kindness, and was very desirous of a

[1] The President was at this time at loggerheads with his Council.

peace with us. And your Hon^rs desiring the same in yours of 11 February, and having no employ for your ship 'Benjamin,'[1] we have thought good to send her thither on freight. And shall now only sound the King's inclinations towards us without proceeding to any demands till we understand what he offers."

The demand made by Elihu Yale on the Phra-klang of Siam met with a quick response from that official, as Yale wrote to the Directors in London on the 20th November, 1691, that the Phra-klang had replied "that Phaulkon and White had wronged the King greatly and owed him much," and that as their estates had been carried to England, the Company should seize them for their satisfaction for what was due to them, as the "King had noe money of the others to discharge his debts with." The authorities of Surat added, "that if this course would not do, the only way to repay yourselves is by continuing the war against Siam, and by sending two small vessels, fitted and manned to Siam's river mouth, or some adjacent island to wait for the junks, there's little hopes of right otherwise, and if they should fail taking those junks, or other their vessels, which can

[1] Alexander Hamilton, in his "New Account of the East Indies," says that he saw the chaplain of the ship *Benjamin*, and that the ship went on a voyage to Acheen and the Straits of Malacca, but that the chaplain stayed at Bombay and Surat, "employed in his ministerial Duties, and in making his ingenious Observations and Remarks, which he published when he returned to *England*, for which he received a great Applause, and many Encomiums from some of his Reverend Brethren, and a particular Compliment from the Governors of the Church; yet I know that his greatest Travels were in Maps, and the Knowledge he had of the Countries any Way remote from the afore-mentioned Places was the Accounts he gathered from common Report; and, perhaps, those Reports came successively to him by Second or Third Hands; for to my certain Knowledge, there were none then at *Surat* or *Bombay* that could furnish him with any tolerable Accounts of some Countries that he describes, particularly of the Growth and Nature of Tea, and shews its Bush very prettily among his Cuts; which Accounts are not easily procured, even in *China*, much less at *Bombay*."

The author mentioned by White was F. Ovington, M.A., Chaplain to His Majesty, and also of the ship *Benjamin*. His work is entitled "A Voyage to Suratt," &c., but the title-page extends to nineteen lines. It was published in 1696; but in the copy I have examined I have not been able to find any illustrations of the tea-plant, and in describing which he says, "It is very doubtful if the shrub bears any flowers upon it!"

hardly be avoyded, Your ships may soon after that season go to China to take in lading of Sugar, Allome, Tutenague, China root[1] &c grief goods to bear the charge of the voyage. and this course to be yearly practised, till you are righted, and twill bring them the sooner to complyance, and to differ with them can be no prejudice to your Hon^{rs} Europe trade that country affording few or no goods proper for England, besides the late rebellions and revolutions has ruined the trade, their outrages and exactions frightening most from dealing with them. There is a late flying report, that the new King is cast off too, and a new rebel in his place, if so their divisions and confusion will make them and their ships the easier conquest, they are realy and justly greatly indebted to your Hon^{rs} to several particular persons who would willingly contribut towards your Hon^{s} charge for the recovering your own and their debts, which we humbly refer to your Hon^{rs} consideration and orders therein."

Elihu Yale's proposition that certain of the residents at Madras, in all probability officials of the Company, and himself doubtless one of their number, should be allowed to contribute to the prosecution of a war with Siam, is a revelation of how extensive must have been their private trading transactions with that kingdom.

The Company's answer to this remarkable proposal has not been traced, but Yale's private trading exploits were considered so suspicious that he was not permitted to leave India until 1699. His brother Thomas,[2] however, departed in 1694.

The claims of the East India Company to the exclusive trade of the East were disallowed when, in 1690, the House of Commons decided that all Englishmen had an equal right to trade in the Eastern seas, unless prohibited by Parliament. "Any merchant of London or Bristol

[1] "A once famous drug, known as *Radix Chinae* and *Tuber Chinae*, being the tuber of various species of *Smilax*."—Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 153.

[2] Fort St. George Consultations, February, 1694. See App. G.

might now fit out a ship for Bengal or for China, without the least apprehension of being molested by the Admiralty or sued in the Courts of Westminster. No wise man, however, was disposed to stake a large sum on such a venture. For the vote which protected him from annoyance here left him exposed to serious risks on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope."[1] George White, however, at once took advantage of the new law and returned to India, but he soon experienced that what was law in England was treason at Fort St. George and Surat. From the Records of the former factory,[2] it appears that the President and Council proceeded against one of their captains for the offence of his vessel having been seen in the company of the *Hendy*, an 'interloper' of which White was supercargo and who is described as one of the Company's most inveterate enemies, and of having done so notwithstanding Sir John Child's positive orders against holding correspondence with such caitiffs. But shortly after White had reached Surat in December, 1694, he learned, *via* Alexandretta and the Euphrates Valley, the overland route of those days, that his principals had disposed of the ship and its cargo to the East India Company; so that when he appeared at Surat, and was threatened by the Company's servants, he had to undergo the humiliation of explaining what had happened, and had to plead that he was a servant of the Company. This must have been a painful experience to White, who had doubtless been congratulating himself on the not unimportant part he had played in bringing about the abolition of the Company's monopoly of trade. Disappointed in his hopes, he soon departed to England, and apparently never again returned to India.

Piracy in the Indian seas, from 1690 and onwards to the close of the century, was so rife, that William Kidd, the "veteran mariner of New York," who knew all the

[1] Macaulay's History of England, 1861, vol. v. chap. xxiii. pp. 60, 61.
[2] Consultation Book, 1694, March 22, J.J. a. 2, 3.

resorts of the pirates, from the Cape of Good Hope to Malacca, was employed to suppress it; but, as is well known, instead of doing so, he became himself the most daring and cruel of pirates. A band of these pests had fortified themselves in the Nicobars,[1] a position which gave them a command of the Straits of Malacca and of the trade to Pegu and Mergui. The pirates belonged to almost all the nationalities of Europe, but those who frequented the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal were largely made up of Dutch.

In the last few years of the seventeenth century, the mention of Siam in a public document is of rare occurrence. The last notice that has been met with shows that in some quarters it was supposed that the French had not abandoned their aspirations to obtain a footing in Siam. In this document[2] it is said that a French ship that had arrived at Surat, was, according to a French Capuchin priest of Fort St. George, "designed for Mergui." Governor Higginson, however, said that he gave no more heed to this report than to another that had reached him from Canton, that the French missionaries there had received a letter overland from France, in four months' time, acquainting them that six French ships were going to Mergui to establish a factory there. His estimate of the amount of credence to be placed on these rumours proved correct.

Before the seventeenth century closed, English ships now and again visited Ayuthia and Mergui. This was to be expected, after the news that had been brought back by Hodges regarding the desire of the new King to see the English once more trading with his kingdom.[3] But the East India Company's experience of Siam, extending over the greater portion of a century, did not encourage

[1] Letter from Messrs. Lloyd and Reynolds, of the ship *Dorrill*, to Sir John Sayer, 1695–96.

[2] Letter from Governor Higginson to the Honourable Laurence Pitt, Councillor-Extraordinary of India, Governor of Negapatam, &c., Coast of Choromandel, for the Right Honourable Netherlands East India Company.

[3] Letter from Fort St. George to Sir John Child, 20th January, 1689.

them to re-establish a factory at Ayuthia. Moreover, the country, from 1690 to 1759, was the scene of almost incessantly recurring contests for the throne, revolution following revolution, to the destruction of trade and impoverishment of the nation. In the latter year the kingdom of Siam received a crushing blow, as the Burmese Emperor Alaunghprâ wrested from it the entire province of Tenasserim, with its commodious seaport of Mergui, to which the trade of the Coromandel Coast had flowed for many a century, and which had sent out during an equally protracted period fleets of merchantmen to Acheen, Bengal, Golconda, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. This disaster was soon to be succeeded by another, as, eight years afterwards, the time-honoured capital of Ayuthia, in which so many Englishmen had traded, lived, and died, was reduced to ashes by the second son of the conqueror of Tenasserim. The downfall of this city brought about the elevation of Bangkok to the dignity of the capital of Siam.

APPENDIX.

A.

No. 31.—*From the "Government Gazette," January* 25 *and February* 8, 1827.[1]

Journies in Siam.—We have been favoured with some notices of the Eastern Peninsula, to the south and east of our new possessions, which we propose offering to our readers as descriptive of a country, rarely, if ever visited by Europeans, until late events led to a more frequent communication between the British and Siamese authorities. In consequence of this improved intercourse, and particularly with reference to the exchange of prisoners, several journies were performed by land, in different directions, by two of the officers of the Mission, Mr. Harris, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, and the Interpreter, Mr. Leal, to whose notes we have been kindly permitted to have access.

One of the first excursions, and which was performed by both the gentlemen we have named, proceeded from Ligor, a principality dependant upon Siam, and a town and seaport upon the eastern coast of the peninsula. Some account of this place may be found in Hamilton, who visited this quarter in 1719, but his notice is very brief and defective. The French, when established at Siam, endeavoured to have a plan taken of the town, but were not permitted, and scarcely any notice of the place is found in

[1] From the Appendix to "Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, with an Introductory Sketch of the Events of the War, and an Appendix." Compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. Calcutta: From the Government Gazette Press, by G. H. Huttmann, 1827.

the work of La Loubere. The Dutch had a factory there from the beginning of the 17th century to the middle of the last, the remains of which are still shown in some old brick foundations, where it is said to have stood.

The town of Ligor is at a short distance from the bank of the Ta-yung, or Tha-wung river, at about two hours rowing from the mouth of the river: from the bank of the river to the town, the road is good, leading through an avenue of trees. Ligor is, in form, an oblong square: it is defended by walls, with ramparts, and a wet ditch, which, during the rains, communicates with the river. It contains about five thousand inhabitants, and appears to have been at one time much more populous, but it has suffered considerably within the last half century, having been twice taken, and many of its inhabitants having been carried off, first by Alompra, and secondly, by one of the generals of Minderagee, the last Burmese sovereign. According to the conscription rolls of this state, the males capable of bearing arms, are about twelve thousand.

The Chief of *Ligor* is amongst the native princes to the eastward, who have shown a decided disposition to cultivate a friendly footing with the English. He is, in some respects, dependant on Siam, but is absolute in his own government, and has great influence at Bangkok through his wife, who is the cousin of the King, and their daughter, who is one of the King of Siam's wives, and has lately borne his Majesty a son and heir. There are three or four commissioners sent to Ligor, by the Siamese court, but the Chief treats them with very little consideration, and they exercise, except on occasion of his absence, no authority whatever. He has in his hands, the power of life and death.

The town of Ligor stands on a very extensive plain, which appears to reach to the great central range of mountains, and is covered with rice cultivation. There is a little pepper cultivated in the interior, and some iron ore collected; but the tin mines are much neglected, and said to be exhausted. There appears to be no direct trade with China, Cochin-China, or other foreign ports. What little

trade there is, is with Siam, and it is entirely engrossed by the Chief. There is not a single brick dwelling-house in the town, but a great many temples and pyramids of that material, and most of them in ruins. The Chief's house is of plank, with a tiled roof: it is situated within the fort, which consists of an old high wall, in a most dilapidated condition, and without a gun mounted in any part within or upon it.

There is no difficulty in approaching or quitting the coast of Ligor, although, from the high swell and surf, during northerly winds, and the shoal, at the end of Tantalam Island, the roadsted cannot be considered safe, during the height of the N.E. monsoon. The anchorage ground is of soft mud—there are three fathoms, at about two miles and a half from the mouth of the Tha-wang river, which is a little to the northward of the Ligor river—the two rivers join a short way inland, and the latter is little used.

The jealousy of the Siamese court, precluded the possibility of taking advantage of a favourable opportunity of proceeding from Ligor to Bangkok entirely by land, but permitted the journey, as far as the village of Pathiu, situated in about latitude 11° 10′.

From Ligor the first day's journey, the 18th December, passed over extensive plains, watered by the Tha-wang river, to the village of *Nam-Jin*, or "cold water." The party accompanied the Raja of Ligor, whose suite consisted of between three and four hundred persons, with eighty elephants: temporary houses were erected for his accommodation at every stage. The second day's march, proceeded through thick jungles and occasional rice fields, to a place called Ban Hooa Thaphan, close to the seashore.

The third day's route led over very bad roads to the village of Ban Clai, chiefly tenanted by Chinese, on the right bank of the Clai river, about three miles from its mouth—the river is about one hundred yards wide, opposite to the village, but it is much narrower at the mouth, being choaked with the sands gathered at the bar, against which the surf beats as violently as at Madras. The bed of the

river, which runs between lofty banks, is sandy, and the water very clear—the village contains about one thousand persons. This place is the *Clay* of Horsburgh's charts.

From Ban Clai to Ban Krang, the next day's journey, from half-past seven in the morning till six in the afternoon. The road lay chiefly through jungle, but several villages were passed, and a couple of small streams. The halting place was situated at the foot of a hill, on a beautiful plain, through which flowed a fine clear stream called the Khlong Krang.

On the following day, a march of equal duration, terminated at Hoon Nah: early in the afternoon, an extensive range of lofty mountains was visible on the left of the road. The next day's march was intersected by a number of small streams, and led through thick jungle, in which tigers are sometimes encountered. The following march terminated at the Siamese village of Ban Chekram, after crossing the river of the same name. The bamboos here are of enormous size, and the joints are used for domestic vessels, for holding water and other purposes.

The journey for three days more, passed over the same kind of country, in which thick jungle, alternated with open plains, sometimes in cultivation, and small streams occasionally intersected the road. The evening of the third day brought the party to a broad and rapid river, the Tha-kham, near the mouth of which is situated the town of Phoon-phin, a place containing about 1200 Siamese inhabitants, under the authority of a Chinese officer. It is celebrated for its steel, of which the swords of all the great officers of the court are manufactured. The Tha-kham is the northern boundary of the jurisdiction of the Raja of Ligor. A branch runs to the southward, to the town of Bandon, where it opens into the sea, and whence it is usually termed the Bandon river. The northern branch of the Tha-kham empties itself into the sea, at a place called Tha-thong, which bounds the Ligor territory on the sea coast: a number of small islands lie off the mouth of the Bandon river. The Tha-kham proceeds nearly across the peninsula, passing to Pennom, a town three days journey from Phoonga,

on the western coast opposite to Junkceylon, the tin and other produce of which island, find their way by this route to Bangkok.

During the next two days, the road ran through extensive tracts of rice cultivation, to a village a short distance from Chhaiya, one of the most considerable towns on the route. It is defended by a stockade, and contains about two thousand Siamese, besides a number of Chinese. It stands upon a broad stream, or probably an arm of the sea, and carries on a considerable traffic, chiefly in grain: the inhabitants of the province are estimated at eighteen or nineteen thousand.

On the second day after quitting Chhaiya, the road led to the sea shore, and continued for some distance along a smooth and firm beach, lined with Casuarina trees, and free from surf. The mouths of two small rivers were crossed on the second day.

On the day following, the 8th January, the travellers proceeded inland, partially through jungle, to the right bank of a large river, the Lang Sewun, on the opposite side of which was a village, containing about six hundred inhabitants, chiefly Malays—the next two days offered little variety, several streams were crossed, and the second day's halt was at Suwi, a town containing about two thousand inhabitants, with a Siamese governor of the rank of Phra: the road was good, leading between paddy-fields. The same kind of road continued throughout the two succeeding days to the town of Ch'hoomphon, on the right bank of a river so named, which pursues a very winding course, in a sandy bed, between lofty banks. The town is stockaded, and is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants. It was formerly the entrepot of a very valuable trade with the coast of Tenasserim, but subsequently to the subjugation of Tenasserim by the Burmans, Ch'hoomphon has been little else than a military post, where a force was stationed to watch the proceedings of the Burmans, and make occasional kidnapping inroads into their territory. The governor of Ch'hoomphon, soon after Mergui and Tavāi came into our possession, committed the usual predatory

excesses in their neighbourhood, and carried off many of the people captive, fourteen hundred of whom were recovered by the late mission of Captain Burney. His proceedings were so far from being avowed by the Court of Siam, that he was ordered up to the capital, and thrown into confinement, in which he died.

After crossing the Ch'hoomphon river, the next stage was a village named Bang-soon, and the following, at the head of a small river, named the Pathiu, near the mouth of which is a village of the same appellation, containing about two hundred Chinese and Siamese inhabitants, employed chiefly in fishing and manufacturing *balachang*. The cause we have above alluded to, here suspended the farther prosecution of the journey by land, and the party embarking on board a large boat, arrived in four days in the Menam river, and reached Bangkok in the evening of the same day, the 31st of January.

When the Court of Siam had consented to the release of the Burman prisoners, it was thought advisable to send them back in charge of some confidential person attached to the mission in order to secure their ready and safe return—accordingly, the first detachment, consisting of between five and six hundred persons, proceeded under the superintendence of Mr. Leal, the interpreter, who, on his journey to the Tenasserim coast, and in his return to Bangkok, by way of Martaban, had an opportunity of visiting the whole of the Siamese frontier, and making himself acquainted with the topography of a tract of country, almost new to European investigation.

The party left Bangkok on the 13th February, 1826, in six junks. They sailed from the bar on the 23rd, and on the 1st of March reached Banguarom, a place on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, in about latitude 11° 50′; from hence the route proceeded overland.

The first day's march was, in the early part, over an indifferent road, but the greater part was good, with pools of water at different places; the second was also over a good road, and terminated at a place, where it branched off in two different directions, the right leading to Bangtha-

pan, the left to Mergui, and distinguished by two large trees, one on the Mergui road, marked with two large crosses, and the other on the Bangtha-phan road, with four.

On the third day's march, the people suffered much inconvenience from want of water, not a drop of which was encountered. Early on the morning of the fourth, water was met with: the road here again divided into two, one leading to the E. the other S.S.E., the latter terminating abruptly, at a short distance, the former continuing to Mergui, and marked by a large stone.

The fifth day's march, came early to the foot of the Kasoon mountain, along the skirts of which ran a small rivulet—the mountain was steep, and the ascent and descent occupied the greater part of a fatiguing day. By nine o'clock, on the morning of the following day, the party arrived at the boundary of the Burman and Siamese states, marked by three tamarind trees: the place is said to be called Sing-khon-tha-pe. In the afternoon, they halted at a pagoda, where the Burmese offered their adorations.

The next day's march continued, throughout the day, along a good road to the banks of the Tenasserim river, where the party constructed seventy-five bamboo floats, for the purpose of completing the journey by water—according to impressions received on the spot, the river here was thought to be the main branch, but, according to the assertions of the more intelligent among the Burmans, it is but a branch of the Tenasserim river—the passage down the stream was very tardy, being much obstructed by trees in the river. On the afternoon of the third day, a fishing boat was seen and dispatched to Mergui, where the party arrived on the fifth day of their voyage, the 15th March, having lost four children and boys, on the journey.

The party, allowing for the detention of three days at Banguarom, and of the greater portion of the fourth and eighth day's route, whilst engaged in ascertaining the direction of the road, and constructing bamboo floats, was about sixteen days passing from the bar of the Menam to Mergui, but their progress was necessarily slow, owing to the number of women and children, and we understand, that the Kasoon

hill might have been crossed at a more easy pass. There are two instances on record of the journey, between the *old* capital of Siam and Mergui, when the French occupied it, having been made in ten days, and on one of these occasions, the party consisted of prisoners in chains, escorted by a detachment of Siamese soldiers. The late King of Siam is said, about thirty-three years ago, to have constructed the military road from Banguarom towards Mergui, for the purpose of invading the Burmese territories: the road is described to admit elephants, and even wheel carriages. But in former times, there appears to have been a *carriage* road between the Gulf of Siam and Tenasserim, as, in a letter from the Bishop of Tabraca, from Siam, in 1761, we find the following passage: "J'ai envoyé M. Martin (a Merguy). Il alla jusqu'à Piply, ou l'on a coutume de quitter les batteaux, et y attendit inutilement, *les Charettes*, pendant trois semaines." Piply is the Siamese Phriphri, a large town on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam, in about lat. 13° 20′, and once the capital of the Siamese empire. It is to be hoped, that our officers at Mergui will shortly be able to re-open and re-establish these old and almost forgotten roads into the rich kingdom of Siam, and thus revive the ancient and valuable commerce, which was conducted with Siam through this channel, first by the Portuguese, and afterwards by the French.

From Mergui, Mr. Leal proceeded to Tavai by sea, and was thence sent back by the Commissioner, with instructions to proceed to the Siamese station, on the other side of the peninsula, at Ch'hoomphon, to deliver a number of Siamese prisoners, and receive charge of the Burmese still detained there. He accordingly started from Mergui, on the 23rd March, with twelve Burman boats, and four others, containing one hundred and nine Siamese prisoners, and reached the mouth of the Pak-cham river on the 25th: he rowed up the river on the following day, and arrived at Pak-cham on the afternoon of the 26th. Mr. Leal describes the river as of considerable size. The exact site and proper name of this river are yet unknown, as the coast between it and Mergui has never been surveyed. The Pak-cham river

is separated from the C'hoomphon river by a very small interval of level ground, and it is said that, during the spring tides, the two rivers often unite: the former is, throughout, broad and deep, and the latter flows in a sandy bed—both are free from rocks. It seems, therefore, probable, that they might be formed into one with little or no difficulty, and a short and direct communication would thus be formed across the peninsula, between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam. From Pak-cham, Mr. Leal proceeded across the country to C'hoomphon, in the vicinity of which he arrived on the afternoon of the second day. Although accompanied by only thirty-eight Burmans, his appearance caused a considerable sensation. He was met, on starting, by three Siamese, sent to ascertain the object of his coming. At night he was joined by a chief, with about seven hundred followers, all armed, who left him after learning his destination: on the following morning he was met by the deputy governor, with three thousand men, who requested him to halt till the afternoon, when a place would be prepared for his reception. Having acceded to this proposal, Mr. Leal suspended his journey till the hour agreed on, when he proceeded, and came to a field, where he again met the deputy governor, with two other officers, and about eight thousand Siamese troops, armed in various ways, and variously habited in red, green, and white uniforms. They informed Mr. Leal that the governor was absent, but had been apprised of his arrival, and was expected immediately, till when they would attend to his wishes. They gave him a small hut to occupy without the city, but on the day following, announced that a place was ready for his accommodation in C'hoomphon: a violent rain, however, having detained him till two o'clock, it was then announced, that the governor had arrived, and was ready to receive him. On being informed of the object of the mission, he stated that the Burman prisoners had been sent back, and intimated that some delay was likely to occur before a house in the town could be prepared for the reception of the messenger. The meaning of this being justly understood to be a reluctance to admit the party into C'hoomphon,

Mr. Leal thought it unnecessary to delay his return, and set out for Pak-cham on the following day. He arrived there on the afternoon of the 31st, and reached Mergui, by water, on the 3rd of April. He found, that only fifty-nine of the Burman prisoners had arrived, but the rest, to the number of two hundred and thirty-seven, gradually returned, having been sent round a month's journey by way of Bangnarom, instead of the direct and easy route of a week or ten days from Pak-cham to Mergui.

Having next set off for Martaban by sea, and arrived there on the 21st April, Mr. Leal next departed from thence for Bangkok. He embarked in boats on the Uttaran river, on the 24th, accompanied by twenty Mons, or Peguers, and three Burmans. On the 25th, he arrived at Meuang Uttaran, and the river of Khlong Bangwilai, where he passed the night. On the 26th, he passed Khlong Peli, and on the 27th, halted at a place called Phra Mongue, after encountering some difficulties on the road. On the 28th, he reached Khlong Mykut, where teak grows in considerable quantities, and whence it is transported down the Uttaran to Martaban. On the 29th, at an early hour, the party reached Khlong Mysikleet, where they rested, having experienced much fatigue. On the 30th, after passing a portion of the river, very difficult from rocks and shallows, they came to Mykesath, where the Siamese troops were posted, and where the navigation up the Uttaran terminates. From hence, they proceeded by land, on the 1st May, starting at three in morning. At ten, they came to the place where there are three shapeless piles of stones, usually known as the three pagodas, the boundary between the Burman and Siamese territories in this direction, and denominated by the latter Phra-chaidi Sam-ong, and by the former Kioc-pie. The precise position of these landmarks has yet to be ascertained, as different observers have placed them at the distance of more than one degree of latitude, and nearly one in longitude; the average seems to be about N. 15° 6′ and E. 99° 7′. In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Leal reached Songola, a place containing one hundred and fifty persons, at the head of the Mekhlong

river, on the eastern bank; a Siamese guard is situated here, of about one hundred men, mostly natives of Pegu.

On the following day, the 2nd May, the party, after a very fatiguing journey, reached the fort of Loomchhang, occupied by a guard of Peguers. It is a place of some traffic, a number of boats being found here, large and small: the trade is carried on with the people of the plains in cotton, cloth, bees' wax, ivory, sapan-wood, honey, buffaloes' and deers' hides and horns, tigers' skins, cardamoms, &c. Three rivers meet here, one from Songola, the Mekhlong, one coming from the S.W., the Thadin-deng, and one, the Alantay, running from the north of east.

Two boats were here procured, and the journey proceeded down the Mekhlong river. Several floats and canoes going to Bangkok, were passed on the first day's progress: the navigation of the river was difficult and laborious. Early on the third day, the party arrived at Menam-noi, a place of some importance, where the Siamese, in the late war, constructed two forts, and stationed their army under the Maha Yotha, or "illustrious warrior" Rong-na-rong, corruptly denominated Rown Rown. The employment of this force, whilst cantoned here, was rather unmilitary, as the men were exercised chiefly in cultivating cotton, of which the finest description produced in Siam, grows about Menam-noi. They were also employed in cutting sapan-wood and timber, for the state boats. There is no teak in this part of the country. At a short distance above Menam-noi, is the post of Chaiyok, which seems to be the Daraik of some maps, and from whence the land journey to Tavai commences. It leads over the mountains, and through thick forests, and is exceedingly laborious: the distance, however, is inconsiderable. Two sepoys of the 25th Battalion Native Infantry, who volunteered to convey the Envoy's dispatches from Bangkok, were eight days passing from Chaiyok to Tavai, and returning thence.

After some little detention at Menam-noi, by the military authorities, Mr. Leal was suffered to proceed, and in the evening passed the post of Thatuko. On the following

day, he passed a village called Sam-sing, where lay many vessels loading with sapan-wood. At noon he reached the military station of Danclai, and about three in the afternoon, Ban-chiom, at the junction of the Sissovat with the Mekhlong: the former comes from the north. The town is of some importance, containing about five thousand inhabitants, chiefly Peguers. He stopped in the evening at Pak-phrek, a still more considerable town, having a population of about eight thousand Siamese. It is sometimes also called Kan-boori: the former town of that name, which stood at the head of the Sissovat river, was destroyed by the Burmans, in their invasion of Siam in 1766.

On the next day Mr. Leal, continuing his voyage, passed Rat-phri and Ban-chhang. An attempt was made to detain him at the former place, which he resolutely resisted, and forced his passage. Rat-phri has a population of about ten thousand. Ban-chhang, the Ban-xang of the Lettres Edifiantes, is said to contain a population of about four thousand, chiefly Chinese.

On the 8th May, the party passed Mekhlong at the mouth of the river of the same name, having about thirteen thousand inhabitants, Siamese and Chinese, and being a place of considerable traffic. From hence, the route proceeded across the mouth of the Tha-chin river, which debouches into the sea at the same place as the Mekhlong: the intervening tract is inhabited by Peguers, principally, to the number of sixteen thousand persons. The upper part of the Tha-chin, as its name denotes, is occupied almost entirely by Chinese, who are engaged in the manufacture of sugar. Lakhon Chhaisa is the name of the principal place of this manufacture. At, or a little above the mouth of the Tha-chin, a small river or canal, the Khlong Menang Luang, connects that stream with Menam at Bangkok. Starting after midnight, with the flood tide, Mr. Leal reached the Menam about three o'clock, having thus crossed the Siamese frontier in three different places, and traversed a considerable portion of the peninsula, where no European had preceded him.

B.

Burning of a Wizard at Bombay, 1671.

They wrote to Surat as follows on 23rd April, 1671: "There hath of late bin sev^{ll}. persons secured for noted wizards, and sev^{ll}. proofs brought in against them, to y^{e}. satisfaction of y^{e}. Justices, wee are very sencible it's a very difficult thing to try them, and therefore shall be very cautious in w^{t}. wee doe, but in case it be proved that they have bewitched any person to Death, either by confession or sufficient circumstances, wee desire to know how farr wee shall proceed, there was a man dyed on friday last, credibly reported to be bewitched to death, the person suspected being sent for by a Guard resisted, upon wch. they drew their swords, and did endeav^{r}. to wound him, but could not pereice his skin, but he was taken." And again they write on 3rd May 1671: "wee have sent your hon^{r}. &c., coppie of y^{e}. Justices examination of witnesses against a noted wizard, and desire your order w^{t}. to doe therein, this person hath bin banished twice before, once in Capt. Garys[1] time and once in y^{e}. portugall time of Goverm^{t}. and yet hath presumed to come on y^{e}. Island againe and bewitched to death foure persons, there are 4 more in prison on y^{e}. same acco^{t}. ye country people brings in dayly their complaints of their losses and abuses rec^{d}. by them." Again on the 29th May they wrote to Surat: "The wizard formerly wrote of hath a bag or teate on his arme, wee only expect an answere to those papers we sent of his examination, and then wee shall proceed to his tryall."

On the 14th June, 1671, they say: "The wizard formerly wrote of was by a Jury of 12 men found guilty, both of witchcraft, and murder, there names are here in y^{e}. Mergent he would confesse nothing till sentence was read, and then acknowledged himselfe to be a wizard, and that there were sev^{ll}. as guilty as himselfe, some of whom he named and they

[1] For a short account and notices of Mr. (or Captain) Gary, see Hedges' Diary, vol. ii. p. 174 *et seq.*

are fled he died very obstinate, never shewing ye least signe of feare, to ye last wee intended to have hanged him; only it was generally advised that burning would be farr ye greatest terrour, as alsoe that a single wizard deserving hanging whereas he had now murthured 5 men in 6 mo^s. and had bin twice banished before for a wizard soe wee burnt him, there happened one thing very observable, that when he lay in ye midst of so great a fire one of his armes quite burnt off, yet notwithstanding his great knot of haire on his head and his clout betwixt his leggs was intire, though they perfectly flamed above an houre togather."[1]

C.

Factory of Cale Velha or Old Káyal.

In the original correspondence preserved in the Records of the India Office, there is a list (O.C. No. 2726) of factories and places where books were kept since 1658. In this list there is a factory called *Caile Veale*, which is evidently another rendering of *Calevelo*, mentioned at p. 94 of this work. Mr. Walter Travers was the agent in 1663, and on the 5th July of that year he wrote to the President and Council at Surat, dating his letter Alvatty.[2] In this letter he speaks of "Cale Velha as ye seate of our factorie," and says, "the pearle fishing this year proves very meane; and will prove but a bad decoy to most of our pearle merchants; ye profitt ye Dutch draw yearly thence[3] is diversly reported, ye paravâs (whom in this matter wee most credit) say 8 C. Dollars they say not so much; this they levy by way of toll."

In a letter from Fort St. George to Surat, dated 5th September, 1665, we learn that Travers died at his post, and was succeeded by Mr. Harrington. In this letter the factory is also called *Cale Velha* or Old Cale, *Velha* being the Portuguese for *old*. In a letter from Mr. George Foxcroft,

[1] Ind. Off. Rec., G.G. c. i. 10.
[2] Ind. Off. Rec., O.C. 2981: possibly Ālandulai.
[3] Their factory was at Tuticorin, about ten miles north of Káyal.

Governor of Fort St. George, to the Company, dated 26th September, 1665, it is stated, "The Dutch have seized on yor factory of Cale Velha, near Tutticoreen (wch is their factory) by force of Armes, carried all that was in ye factory and Mr. Harrington (who came thither after ye death of Mr. Travers) and stript, dealt unhumanly and barbarously wth him, and carried him away in Irons, and what is further become of him we know not."

Nearly three years later the President and Council at Madras became reconciled to the loss of *Calevelha*, as we find them writing to the Court in London on the 12th November, 1668, that the Dutch had secured it by the Articles of Peace, the factory having been captured by them in the time of war.

From the circumstance that this factory was called Old Cale, it doubtless stood on the site of the Cail or Kail of Marco Polo and other old travellers, an important maritime city in mediæval times, but the site of which had never been identified until Colonel (Sir) Henry Yule's erudite work on Marco Polo appeared in 1870. The locality is still known as Old Kail or Old Káyal.

Yule has the following interesting note on this old city. He says, "Kail, now forgotten, was long a famous port on the coast of what is now the Tinnevelly district of the Madras Presidency. It is mentioned as a port of Ma'bar by our author's (Marco Polo) contemporary Rashiduddin, though the name has been perverted by careless transcription into *Báwal* and *Kábal* (see Elliot, i. pp. 69, 72). It is also mistranscribed as *Kábil* in Quatremère's publication of Abdurrazzák, who mentions it as "a place situated opposite to the island of Serendib, otherwise called Ceylon," and as being the extremity of what he was led to regard as Malabar (p. 19). It is mentioned as *Cahila*, the site of the pearl-fishery, by Nicolo Conti (p. 7). The *Roteiro* of Vasco da Gama notes it as *Caell*, a state having a Mussulman king and a Christian (for which read *Káfir*) people. Here were many pearls. Giovanni d'Empoli notices it (*Gael*) also for the pearl-fishery, as do Varthema and Barbosa."[1]

[1] Marco Polo, vol. ii. 2nd ed., 1874, pp. 358–359. The chapter treating of Káyal is illustrated by a map showing the position of the old city. Consult also Bishop Caldwell's History of the Tinnevelly District, Madras, 1881.

Yule then quotes the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, who says, "The Cail of Marco Polo, commonly called in the neighbourhood *Old Káyal*, and erroneously named *Koil* in the Ordinance Map of India, is situated on the Tâmraparnî River, about a mile and a half from its mouth. The Tamil word *káyal* means 'a backwater, a lagoon,' and the map shows the existence of a large number of these *káyals* or backwaters near the mouth of the river. Many of these kayals have now dried up more or less completely, and in several of them salt-pans have been established. The name of Káyal was naturally given to a town erected on the margin of a *káyal;* and this circumstance occasioned also the adoption of the name Punnei Káyal, and served to give currency to the name of Káyalpattanam assumed by Sônagarpattanam, both these places being in the vicinity of kayals.

"KÁYAL stood originally on or near the sea-beach, but it is now about a mile and a half inland, the sand carried down by the river having silted up the ancient harbour, and formed a waste sandy tract between the sea and the town. It has now shrunk into a petty village, inhabited partly by Mohammedans and partly by Roman Catholic fishermen of the Parava caste, with a still smaller hamlet adjoining inhabited by Brahmans and Vellalars; but unlikely as the place may now seem to have been identical with 'the great and noble city' described by Marco Polo, its identity is established by the relics of its ancient greatness, which it still retains. Ruins of old fortifications, temples, storehouses, wells and tanks, are found everywhere along the coast for two or three miles north of the village of Kayal, and a mile and a half inland; the whole plain is covered with broken tiles and remnants of pottery, chiefly of China manufacture, and several mounds are apparent, in which, besides the shells of the pearl-oyster and broken pottery, mineral drugs (cinnabar, brimstone, &c.) such as are sold in the bazaars of seaport towns, and a few ancient coins have been found." [1]

[1] Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 359–360.

D.

Mum-beer.

MUM, mentioned at page 140, was, to use Sir Walter Scott's words, a kind of "fat ale," much in vogue in England and elsewhere during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It declined in popularity in the latter period, and still more so in the nineteenth century, when it has been almost entirely replaced by improved English beers, but so recently as 1856 it continued to be advertised for sale by some publicans in the metropolis.

There is a tradition that it was first brewed by a Christopher Mumm, so long ago as 1492, and it has been suggested by some writers that the term *mum* applied to this beer may probably have arisen from the name of the brewer. But the old author, Stephen Skinner, looked for the derivation of it in the German *mummeln* = to mumble, or from *mum*, a sign of silence. So little, however, is known as to the origin of the term, that Mr. John Bickerdyke[1] has suggested another alternative, that the brewer himself may have obtained his name from the liquor he compounded.

One of the earliest notices of this beer is found in a small unpaged tract,[2] published in 1515, in which it is mentioned among other German drinks—"*Mōmom sive momū Bruswigeū*"; but no information is given as to its composition.

There is no positive evidence regarding the time when it was first introduced into England, but there is the negative evidence that it was not generally in use in this country before 1637, as in a small brochure[3] published in that year,

[1] The Curiosities of Ale and Beer. This is a recent work, but it bears no date.

[2] De Generibus ebriosorum et ebrietate vitanda. Questio facetiarum et vrbanitatis plena, q̃ pulcherrimis optimorum scriptorun flosculis referta, in conclusione Quodlibeti Erphurdiensis. Anno christi. M.D.XV. Circa autuñale æquinoctiū scolastico mōre explicata. M.DCCCCC.XVI. (The title-page is adorned with a representation of nine animals seated drinking at, or on a table, the name of each animal being indicated.)

[3] Drinke and Welcome: OR THE FAMOUS HISTORIE of the most part of Drinks in use now in the Kingdomes of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; with an especiall declaration of the potency, vertue, and operation of our English ALE, &c., by John Taylor, London, 1637.

professing to describe most of the "Drinks in use in the Kingdomes of Great Britain and Ireland," there is no mention of mum.

Previous to 1663, however, it had apparently been freely imported into Scotland, as an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed in that year prohibiting its import, in order to encourage home manufacture. It had also doubtless well established itself in England, as mum-houses existed in London in 1664, and were frequented by such men as Samuel Pepys; and it could even be obtained at the refreshment bar of the House of Commons. At that period it was unquestionably brewed in this country, as in Records of 1665 it is spoken of as an "English Comoditie," which the East India Company then began, as an experiment, to export to the East.

The first account printed in England giving the details of the composition and preparation of mum, was published in a small tract[1] in the year 1682, by which time it was pretty universally known; as even the Americans, three years later, were contemplating the manufacture of it in their country, to supply the Barbadoes and other insular American markets. This tract professes to give the original receipt, as preserved in the Archives of the Town-House of Brunswick, and it states that a copy of the receipt had been sent originally to General Monk. How long he was in possession of the receipt, and to whom he may have communicated its purport has not transpired, but he died in 1669.

The following gives the constituent parts of mum, according to the receipt preserved at Brunswick:—

"To make a Vessel of 63 Gallons, the Water must be first boyl'd to the Consumption of a third part, let it then be Brew'd, according to Art, with 7 Bushels of Wheat-Malt, one Bushel of Oat-Malt, and one Bushel of Ground Beans: and when it is Tun'd let not the Hogshead be too much fill'd at

[1] The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, and Tobacco, in four several Sections; with a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians and modern Travellers. Printed at London, for Christopher Wilkinson, at the Black Boy, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street, 1682. 4to.

This tract is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. pp. 528–541.

first; when it begins to work put to it, of the inner Rind of the *Firr* three pounds; of the tops of *Firr* and *Birch*, of each one pound; of *Carduus Benedictus* dried, three handfuls; Flowers of *Rosa Solis*, two handfuls; of *Burnet*, *Betony*, *Marjoram*, *Avens*, *Pennyroyal*, Flowers of *Elder*, *Wild Thyme*, of each one handful and a half: Seeds of *Cardamum* bruised, three ounces; *Bayberries* bruised one ounce; put the seeds into the Vessel; when the Liquor hath wrought awhile with the Herbs, and after they are added, let the Liquor work over the Vessel as little as may be; fill it up at last, and when it is stopped put into the Hogshead ten new laid Eggs, the Shells not cracked or broken; stop all close, and drink it at two years old, if carried by Water it is better.

"Dr. *Ægidius Hoffman* added *Water Cresses*, *Brooklime*, and *Wild Parsley* of each six handfuls, with six handfuls of *Horse Rhadish* rasped in every Hogshead; it was observ'd that the *Horse Rhadish* made the *Mum* drink more quick than that which had none."

The writer of the tract continues:—

"By the variety of its malt, and by the ground beans, we may conclude, that Mum is a very hearty and strengthening liquor: some drink it much, because it has no hops, which they fancy do spoil our English ales and beers, ushering in infections: nay plagues amongst us: . . . .

"As for eggs in the composition of Mum, they may contribute to prevent its growing sour: . . . .

"Dr. Willis prescribes Mum in several chronical distempers, as scurvies, dropsies, and some sort of consumption. The Germans, especially the inhabitants of Saxony, have so great a veneration for this liquor, that they fancy their bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with so powerful a preserver; and, indeed, if we consider the frame and complexions of the Germans in general, they may appear to be living mummies. But to conclude all in a few words, if this drink, called 'Mum,' be exactly made according to the foregoing instructions, it must needs be a most excellent alterative medecine; the ingredients of it being very rare and choice simples, there being scarce any one disease in nature against which some of them are not preva-

lent, as betony, marjoram, thyme, in diseases of the head: birch, burnet, water-cresses, brook-lime, horse-radish, in the most inveterate scurvies, gravels, coughs, consumptions, and all obstructions; avens and cardamum seeds for cold weak stomachs: carduus benedictus, and elder-flowers, in intermittent fevers: bay-berries and penny-royal, in distempers attributed to the womb. But it is to be feared that several of our Londoners are not so honest and curious as to prepare their Mum faithfully and truly; if they do, they are so happy as to furnish and stock their country with one of the most useful liquors under the sun, it being so proper and effectual in several lingering distempers, where there is a depravation and weakness of the blood and bowels."

The following extracts relating to mum are taken almost exclusively from English literature, but they probably do no more than conduct the reader across the threshold, as mum-beer seems to have been a favourite subject for the ballad-singers of the time when it was most popular. Thomas Read wrote a ballad in its praise far on in the eighteenth century, as a poem on mum by that humorist is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740; but I have not been able to trace it.

Much information regarding this liquor will doubtless be found in German and Dutch literature, as the latter people exported it to the East in the early part of the seventeenth century, probably earlier; while the Germans were its first brewers and greatest consumers.

1650–69.

Baldæus[1] in his description of the manner of the living of the Dutch in the East, says, "Some fill certain earthen vessels over night with water, and add to it 3 or 4 glasses of Spanish wine, which exposed together all night in the Dew turns white, and affords a pleasant liquor, but it is too cool, for which reason some put a certain quantity of Mum in the vessel. The Brunswick Mum is both more pleasant and

[1] Beschreibung der Ost-Indischen Kusten Malabar und Coromandel. Fol. Amsterdam, 1672, p. 180. Churchill's Coll. of Voyages and Travels, vol. iii., 1704, p. 579.

wholesome here than in Europe: the worst is that it is excessive dear, a cask being sometimes sold at 40 to 100 Rix dollars."

1663.

"Importation or inbringing of aquavitæ or strong waters, mum, beir, &c., prohibited, to encourage home manufacture."[1]

1664.

"I went with Mr. Norbury near hand to the Place, a mum-house in Leadenhall, and there drank mum."[2]

1665.

"The Court being moved that they would please to permit some English Mum to be sent on the *Return* to Suratt to make an experiment of, They were very ready to encourage soe ingenious an undertaking of an English comoditie, and gave liberty to Mr. Christopher Boone to send 2 tunns, and Mr. Tho. Papillon to send 5 tonnes of English Mum if so much Tonnage can be spared, giveing 10/ per tonne to the poores Box."[3]

1667.

"This Court being moved to permit some English Mumm to bee sent on yᵉ ship *London* for Bantam, to make an Experiment of that comoditie, in regard the shipp hath tonnage to spare, The Court were pleased to give libertie to Mr. Christopher Boone and some other members of this Court to send 6 or 7 Tunnes of the said Mumm on the said shipp freight free."[4]

1669.

"It was ordered that it be referred to yᵉ Committee for Shipping to consider what proportion of Wyne, Beere, and Mum, is fit to be sent to yᵉ Coast and Bay, and cause yᵉ same to be provided accordingly."[5]

[1] Scottish Acts of Parliament, 13 Car. II., 1633, vol. vii. p. 458.

[2] Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S., vol. ii. (1848), p. 322.

[3] Minutes of the Court of Directors, East India Company, 4th January, 1665.

[4] Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 12th July, 1667.

[5] Minutes of the Court of Directors, East India Company, 6th October, 1669.

1669.

"A certain quantity of bullion to be brought to the mint for each barrel of Mumbeir imported."[1]

1670.

"Mr. Paige and Mr. Horne are desired to provide the like proporiõn of wine and Mũm for Surrat and Bombay, as was sent the last year."[2]

1670–71.

An Act for the advancement of trade and encouragement of the tillage and manufacture of the Realm makes it known that mum was brewed in England (1670–71), as it was enacted that it was lawful to export it from the place in which it was brewed by giving due notice to the Excise officers. It was taxed at the rate of one shilling the tun, but after exportation the owner was to receive one shilling the tun to repay the Excise. The same Act declares "That noe mum imported from Forreigne parts dureing the continuance of this Act, shall have any part of the Duty of Custome or Excise paid at the Importation thereof repaid on Exportation."[3]

1671.

"The Compas servts in Persia[4] are much obliged to your honrs for ye plentiful Stores you were pleased to send us, but unfortunately o: Caske of Mum, when it came to hand was not neare halfe full."

1671.

"Mum, Brunswick *Mum*, Teut. *Mumm*, Belg. *Momme*, Cerevisia quædam generosa, nobis à *Brunswico*, Germanæ urbe, advecta; nescio an *à* Belg. *Mommeln*, *Mompelen*, Teut. *Mummeln*, Mutire, Mussitare, ut nos dicimus, *drink that will make a Cat to speak;* vel contrà à voce *mum*. Silentii indice (*i.e.*), Cerevisia adeò generosa ut brevi linguæ usum adimat."[5]

[1] Scottish Acts of Parliament. Act concerning Bullion. Vol. vii. p. 560.

[2] Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 18th January, 1670.

[3] Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. p. 723. 22 & 23 Car. II., c. 13.

[4] Letter from John Child at Gombroon to Surat, 22nd April, 1671.

[5] Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ. *Stephano* Skinner, M.D. London, 1671.

1673.

"A Duty of £2 : 8/ Scots per barrel imposed on Mum beer imported."[1]

1675/6.

"Whether your honours sends out any wine or no it is all oue to any one in the factory except the Agent himself and Mr. English, it stands us in a great part of our Sallery to buy a little wine and mum for to make us beer wth: to drink when we have occasion while that which is sent by your honours lyes spoyling in the Godowne, for at present there lyes seaven barrells of Mum in the factory turned to vinegar."[2]

1677.

"The next Country joyning to *Saxony*, is the Prince of *Hainaults*, the Prince of Parmburghs, &c. These Countreys for Corn, as to Rye and Wheat, are so plentiful, that no part of Europe can go before them, there being much Corn to spare : . . . . From hence the Brunswick People fetch their Wheat they make their Mum of."

Yarranton, from whom the foregoing quotation is made, advocated the introduction into England of granaries built on the same principle as those in Saxony, in which corn might be stored "safe and sweet . . . . until there shall be want and necessity for it to be delivered to the Poor," and he considered that granaries should be established in the four counties, Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, and Northamptonshire. Stratford-on-Avon he considered would be a very good place for the erection of granaries, and one of his reasons for advocating this was, to use his own words, that "There may as much Mum be made there, as at present is made at *Brunswick*: And there Mum may be made and sent into *Ireland*, *West Indies*, *France*, *Spain*, and into the *Mediterranean*; And these Granaries will be the occasion of getting away the Mum-Trade from Brunswick : . . . .

"Observe, the Mum of Brunswick is made of Wheat, and the Wheat that it is made of is brought from the Granaries at

[1] Scottish Acts of Parliament. Car. II. (Vol. viii. pp. 211, 212).

[2] Letter from Bantam to the Court of Directors, East India Company, dated 10th January, 167$\frac{5}{6}$.

Magdenburg, and *Shenibank*, and it grows in the vale of *Parin burg;* when it comes to *Brunswick* it is Malted, and so made into Mum; and when made, then sent by Land to the River *Elb*, and so to *Hamborough:* and from thence disposed by Merchants unto all Parts: But the Mum of *Brunswick* is a Medicine and drinks very nauseous, and it is not there drinkable at all; but that which makes it good, palitable, and strong, is its being long at Sea; There it is forc'd into a fermentation, and that keeps it working, whereby it alters the very property of the Liquor; and were it not sent to Sea, that Trade at *Brunswick* would not be worth anything; and to convince you further of the reason of what I say, take this one thing, and that will convince you in the Truth of the rest. Our *English* Beer Brewed at *London*, and carried to Sea, and Landed at *Hamborough*, and so carried up the *Elb*, as far as *Draisden*, the Duke of *Saxonie's* Court, and in those Parts, it is sold for Six-pence a Quart."[1] So enthusiastic was this writer in the advocacy of his proposed introduction of mum-brewing into Stratford-upon-Avon, that he goes on to speak of the town as New-*Brunswick*.

1683.

Houghton[2] says, "I once remember that *Wheat* being very Cheap, my Father caused a Steeping of it to be *Malted*, and the Tradition is, that it yields more Liqour, and stronger, the quantity used considered, than *Malt* made of any other grain: and that the Liquor called *Mum*, much drunk and approved of late, is made of Malted *Brunswick-Wheat* with some few other ingredients" (vol. i. pp. 64–65).

He also gives in vol. ii. pp. 93–94, "*The Manner of making* Mum, *according to the Direction recorded in the* Town-House *of*

[1] ENGLAND'S Improvement by SEA and LAND to Out-do the Dutch without Fighting to Pay Debts without Moneys, To set at Work all the POOR of England with the Growth of our own Lands, by Andrew Yarranton, Gent. London, 1677.

[2] A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, by John Houghton, F.R.S., London, 1681. Although the title-page of the first volume of this tract bears the date 1681, it is clear from the internal evidence of the book itself that it could never have been printed in that year, at least in its entirety, as the greater part of the volume is taken up with letters written in 1682 and 1683. The second volume is dated 1683, and it is probable that both were printed in that or the following year.

Brunswick," and adds, "William Richardson, *Merchant, transcribed it out of the* Town-House *of* Brunswick." It is the same as the receipt already produced. He goes on to say: "Our *English Brewers* use not all these materials. They use *Cardamums,* Ginger, and Sassafras, which serves instead of the Inner *Rind* of *Firre,* also *Walnut Rinds, Madder, Red Sanders,* and *Enula Campana.* And some make it only of *Strong-beer,* and *Spruce-beer*" (vol. ii. pp. 93–94).

1685.
"Mum, cherry-wine, Langom, and Lemonad."[1]

1685.
"I do not question but that we might make good strong sound Beer, Ale and Mum that would keep well to Barbadoes. . . . . Great quantities of Beer, Ale, and Mum is sent yearly from London, and other places to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and other islands in America, where it sells to good advantage."[2]

1688.
"Grant of an impost of 3/ Scots per Mint on Mum beer to pay the debts of Edinburgh."[3]

1688.
"Sr pray speake to Mr. Udall to be minde full to Dispose of my Chest of hock and my 2 brll mume and 4 Cases Sauces and allso Mr. Wharfes."[4]

1690–96.
Additional imposts levied on mum beer.

1694.
"An Act for granting to their Majesties severall Rates and Duties upon Tunnage of Shipps and Vessels, and upon Beere,

[1] The Praise of York-shire Ale, Wherein is enumerated several Sorts of Drinks, with a Description of the Humors of most sorts of Drunkards, &c., by G. M., *Gent.* YORK, Printed by J. White, for Francis Hildyard, at the Signe of the Bible in Stonegate. 1685.

[2] Good Order Established in Pennsilvania and New Jersey. By Thomas Budd. 1685.

[3] Scottish Acts of Parliament. Car. II. 38. Vol. vii. 603*b*.

[4] O.C. 5521. Ind. Off. Rec. Letter written on board the ship *Herbert,* lying in the Menam river, to Captain Udall at Ayuthia, dated 23rd September, 1686.

[5] Scottish Acts of Parliament, vol. ix. 206*b*, 460*a*; vol. x. p. 31.

Ale, and other Liquors for secureing certaine Recompenses and Advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such Persons as shall voluntarily advance the sũme of Fifteene hundred thousand pounds towards the carrying on the Warr against France." One of the provisions of this Act, among many others enacted as security for the advanced money, was that 'Every Barrell of Beere, Ale, or Mum imported from beyond the Seas, or from the islands of Guernsey or Jersey, and soe proportionally for a greater or lesser quantity, to be paid by the Importers before landing, over and above the Dutyes payable for the same, Three shillings.[1]

About 1700.

"Mum, a kind of physical beer, made (originally) at Brunswick, Germany, with husks of walnuts infused."[2]

1701.

"An Act for granting an Aid of His Majesty by laying Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry. It was enacted: That every Barrell of Mum imported or made should pay the sum of 10/, and so proportionately for a greater or lesser quantity."[3]

1708.

"Let ev'ry Bough
Bear frequent Vials, pregnant with the Dregs
Of Moyle, or Mum, or Treacle's viscious juice."

And again

"See how the *Belgae*, Sedulous, and Stout,
With Bowls of fat'ning *Mum*, or blissful cups
Of Kernell-relished Fluids."[4]

[1] Statutes of the Realm. 5 & 6 Gul. & Mar., c. 20, vol. vi. p. 485.

[2] Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vol. vii. p. 101. The above extract is taken from an 18mo Dictionary of about 1700, but with no author's name.

[3] Statutes of the Realm. Gul. III., c. 5, vol. vii. p. 740.

[4] Cyder, a Poem, In Two Books, by John Philips. London, 1708.

1714.

In Praise of Brunswick Mum.

By Ber. Michel, Esq.

Behold Pythagora's Cube, I think
When he invented, *Mum* was his Drink,
So solid, sprightful, noble is this Liquor,
It makes the Judgement firm, the Invention quicker.
Let vulgar Wits drink Wine, *Apollo* come
And fill my Budget[1] with Castalian Mum;
That Golden Tincture taken from the Face
Of *Ceres*, when thou didst her first embrace;
Which makes thee youthful, whence I do conjecture
That 'twas not Wine, but Mum that was thy Nectar.
The pratling Cups of Bacchus are too weak,
Mum commands silence, and can make us speak.

. . . . . .

Now for a Catch, begin Boy, and I'll follow
And sing the counterpart to great *Apollo*,
And first let's clear our voices with a Hum,
And nothing sing but *salu* / *cele* } *berri* } Mum.[2]

1714.

An Excellent New Ballad.

Each verse of this ballad ends with a refrain in favour of Brunswick mum, and concludes with the following stanza:—

"Now, now, true Protestants rejoice,
Stand by your Laws and King,
Now you've proclaim'd the Nation's choice,
Let traitorous Rebels swing;

[1] Shakespeare has "We have a nay word: how to know one another. I come to her in white, and say '*Mum;*' she cries 'Budget;' and by that we know one another." *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act v. sc. 2.

[2] Political Merriment, or Truths Told to some Tune. Faithfully translated from the original French of R. H. S., H. N. S., F. A., G. G., A. M., M. P., and Messieurs Brinsden and Collier, the State Oculist, and Crooked Attorney. Li Provedetori delli Curtisani. By a Lover of his Country. London, 1714, p. 96.

Let Royal George, the Papist's scourge,
To *England* quickly come:
His Health till then, let honest Men,
Drink all in *Brunswick Mum.*" [1]

1715.

CATCH IN PRAISE OF MUM.

There's an odd sort of liquor
New come from Hamborough.
'Twill stick a whole wapentake
Through and through:
'Tis yellow, and likewise
As bitter as gall,
And as strong as six horses,
Coach and all.
As I told you, 'twill make you
As drunk as a drum:
You'd fain know the name on't,
But for that, my friend, *mum.* [2]

1715.

"A clamorous crowd is hushed with mugs of mum,
Till all, tun'd equal, send a general hum." [3]

1716.

"I have not forgot to drink your health here in mum, which I think very well deserves its reputation of being the best in the world." [4]

1717.

"I went to bed" (he had been in the House of Commons from one at noon to twelve at night) "last night after taking only a little broth: and all the day before a little tea and bread and butter, with two glasses of mum, and a piece of bread at the House of Commons." [5]

[1] Political Merriment, p. 3.

[2] Playford's Second Book of the Musical Companion. William Pearson, 1715. Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vol. vii. p. 41.

[3] Pope's Dunciad, Book ii., 385.

[4] Letter from Lady M. W. Montagu, dated Brunswick, November 23, O.S. 1716; quoted in Notes and Queries, 4th Series, vol. vii. p. 429.

[5] Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele. 2 vols. London, 1787, p. 215. The above passage

1726.

"These several years past he has never been used to drink any mum, wch is his Majesty's own country liquor. This may well be deemed a mark of disaffection, because tho' he is at liberty to drink this or that liquor, yet why he should never touch Mum at all cannot reasonably be ascribed to any other cause than a downright aversion to the name of Brunswick."[1]

1738.

"*Mum* is a sort of sweet malt liq^r^ brewed with barley and hops and a small mixture of wheat; very thick scarce drinkable till purified at sea. It is transported into other countries."[2]

1761.

"The French pronounce it *Mom* and the English write *Mum*. It is suitable for the Indies, and the Dutch carry much, generally on loading their vessels, preferring it to the beer of Holland."[3]

1803.

"Mr. Perry, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, being indicted by the Attorney-General for an alleged political libel, conducted his own defence, made an able speech to the jury, and had a verdict of "Not guilty." Not long afterwards Cobbett was indicted for a seditious passage in his *Register*, and, prompted by the success of the *Chronicle's* editor, resolved to follow the same course. He did so, but failed; being convicted and sentenced to a heavy fine and imprisonment. Henry Erskine's observation on this was, that Cobbett tried to be Perry, when he should have been mum."[4]

1816.

"Mr. Oldbuck, who, despising the modern slops of tea and

occurs in a letter to "Dear Prue," his first wife, and a sentence farther on his abstinence is explained, as he says, "Temperance and your company, as agreeable as you can make it, will make life tolerable, if not easy, even with the gout" (p. 216.)

[1] Notes and Queries, 5th Series, vol. iii. p. 308. Reproduced from a scarce tract, dated 1726.

[2] Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vol. vii. p. 101. The above is an extract from an old MS. notebook.

[3] Dict. Univ. de Commerce, par J. Savary, 1759–62, new ed., t. iii. p. 939.

[4] Quoted in Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vol. vii. p. 41.

coffee, was substantially regaling himself, *more majorum*, with cold roast-beef and a glass of a sort of beverage called *mum*, a species of fat ale, brewed from wheat and bitter herbs, of which the present generation only know the name by its occurrence in revenue Acts of Parliament, coupled with cider, perry, and other exciseable commodities." [1]

1822.

"There was bluff old Sir Geoffry loved brandy and mum well,
And to see a beer-glass turn'd over the thumb well;
But he fled like the wind, before Fairfax and Cromwell,
Which nobody can deny." [2]

1851.

"When I was young it (mum) used to be drunk in this country, and was, I am told, extensively exported to India, &c. Is it still manufactured?" [3]

"Brunswick Mum is now advertised for sale by many publicans in the metropolis." [4]

1886.

"Mum is by no means so extinct a beverage in Germany. I used to drink it as a child, and even now, whenever I pass through Brunswick, I try to get at the railway station a glass of Braunschweiger Mumme for auld lang syne's sake. It tastes like stout, only with a sweetish liquorice flavour. Like most things, it does not seem so good as it was fifty years ago. It is a feminine in German, *die Mumme*, and tradition says that it was first brewed by Christian Mumme in Braunschweig, 1492.[5] F. M. M."

[1] The Antiquary, Sir Walter Scott, chap. xi.

[2] Peveril of the Peak, vol. ii. p. 287.

[3] G. Creed, Notes and Queries, vol. iv., 1851, p. 177.

[4] *Ibid.*, Editor, p. 177.

[5] *Times*, 28th December, 1886.

E.

Report on the Trade of Siam written in 1678.

The writer of this account of the trade of Siam (Ind. Off. Rec. O.C. 4696), which is in the same handwriting as OC. 4641, states that he had been recently admitted into the Company's service, and that he had been resident four years in Ayuthia. The only person answering to this description is George White. He was employed by the Company to assist Burneby, and this may possibly explain how both documents are in one handwriting.

To ye Right Worp^{ll} Robert Parker Esqr Ag^{t} for ye Honble English East India Comp^{as} Affaires &c. &c^{a} Councill resid^{t} att Bantam.

No date.

Right Worp^{ll}
and honoured S^{rs}

Yo^{r} kindness in according ye humble tender of my Service to the Honble Comp^{a} by my admission into their Imploy has engaged me to dedicate my endeav^{rs} to ye advance of their Interest, and I will faithfully, and diligently discharge that incumbent duty wth ye best of my Capacity, where of till I can render some more acceptable testimony, I here pr^{e}sent you wth an Acco^{t} of ye Gen^{ll} trade of this Kingdome of Syam, hopeing it may bee of some vse in yor Consultations, relating to ye Honble Comp^{as} Affaires in this Place, being ye reall truth of every p'ticuler according as my enquiries, and observations dureing my fowr yeares residence here has informed me.

[The first subject he dealt with was the coinage of the country, and his account of it appears to have extended over two-thirds of a folio page; but it cannot be made out, as the document has been much damaged in this part; indeed, all the five pages over which the report extends

have been much injured by damp or by fire in their lower halves, and have had to be strengthened by tissue-paper pasted over the writing of one of their surfaces.]

Goodes of ye growth of ye Countrey.

This Countrey abounds wth divrs very vsefull and valluable Comodityes of its native growth ye Exportation whereof to sundry forraigne partes, mantaines a very considerable trade here, ye p'ticulare vizt Agulah Wood; Areek; Tynn; Sapan; Elephants; Salt Peter; Lead; Elephants Teeth, all wch are engrossed by ye King, and exposed to Sale by his ffactrs all others being strictly prohibited ye buying there from other handes, and I have seene seveere punishmts inflicted on some of ye Inhabitants for transgressing yt Command, but fforrainrs guilty of the same ffault have had their faylings favourably winked att.

Agula Wood.

The Agulah wood of this countrey of ye Head sort called Agulah Bannah is esteemed Superior to any in ye world, tis a rich pfume groweing in ye woodes neare ye Confines of Cambodiah, ye trade of it haveing beene sevll yeares enjoyed by an eminent Persian pretitled Vphra Synnoratt who by ye Kings especiall grace, and favr was admitted to this participation of ye Royall Manopoly, but some time before his late decease ye Pattent was revoked, and tis now negotiated by his Majties ffactrs for his Accot tis much vsed by ye Moores in Indostan Hydrobad and Bengall, but more in Turkey, and C Arabia, and p'ticularly great Quantityes are expended at ye Mahometans devocons in Medina, and Meccah. Ye Vphra vsed to sell it att different prices according to its goodness ye best at : 16 : Catts p Pecl much Inferiour to wch I have knowne sold at Mocah in ye Red Sea for ₰300 p ffrassell wch amots to neare ₰1500 : p. Pecll.

[A great part of the remainder of the page bearing on tin is wanting, while what remains is very obscure. Under *Elephants* follows a reference to ships at Tenasserim, and Arrack is the next subject of discourse.]

Areek.

Arreek or Betlenut growes in Plantacons betwixt this City Indicah and ye Rivr mouth neare ye towne of Bancoock where there is yearely gathered about 25000 Pecls ye ownrs being strictly obliged to sell all to ye King att : 6 : Mace p Pecl wch hee againe vends for : 1 : Taell p Pecl to ye Portu-

guez of Macaw, and Chineses of Canton, from wch two Portes there yearely comes : 5 : or 6 : shipps, and sommans cheifely for this comodity, and there are allsoe some Merchts inhabitants of this Place who vse ye same trade.

Sapan wood growes in great abundance in sundry Partes **Sapan.** of ye Kingdome tis exported to Jepan, and China being bought by ye King of his People, who deliver att his Warehouses for : 2 : Mace : 1 : ffuah p Pecl and vended againe by him for : 6 : Mace ordinarily, but ano 77 : hee raised it to 2 Tecalls vpon notice that ye price was advanced in China, since when 'tis fallen againe to ye formr rate of : 6 : Mace.

The Salt Peter of this Countrey is excellent good, and **Salt Peter.** well refined as ever I sawe, ye King allowes his People : 5. Tecl Pecll but from his hand tis' worth : 17 Teclle wch is his standard Price, and att yt rate considerable Quantityes are yearely bought by ye ffactrs of ye Kings of Amoy, and Cochin China for ye Service of those Princes in these p'petuall warrs wch are betweene ye former and ye Tartar, and ye latter wth Tunqueene.

Lead is not here in such great quantityes as Tynn is **Lead.** . . . (illegible) settled Price being : 10. Tecalls p Pecull.

Elephants Teeth are found in ye Woodes by People . . . **Elephts Teeth.** who annually bring in about : 6 : or 700 : Pecll's who . . . by his ffactrs att ye Rates following vizt.

2 :	Teeth price a Pec. :	16 : Taell
3 :	Dto	: 14
4 :	Dto	: 12
5 :	Dto	: 10
6 :	Dto	: 8

[The three lines following this are illegible.]

The more vulgar Comodityes wherein all p'sons have Liberty to trade are vizt Iron : Rice : Jaggarah : Tymber : Salt : Cokernutt Oyle : Cheroon :[1] Raw Hides :—

[1] In A Collection of letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, by John Houghton, F.R.S., London, 1683, *Cherquonees* are mentioned among a list of articles imported to London, and *ps a half* is the quantity stated to have been imported in one year. *Cherquonees* is the only word I have been able to find at all resembling *Cheroon*, but the meaning of it I cannot ascertain.

Iron. The Iron Mines are in ye Notherne partes of ye Kingdome about Succotai and Purselooke producing sufficient for ye Expence of ye Countrey, and some is yearely exported to Manilah ye vsuall Price : 6 : in : 7 Tecalls p Pecll.

Rice. This Countrey is ye genl Granary for ye adjacent partes equalling if not exceeding any parte of ye world in abundance of Rice, wherein ye neighbouring Malayan Coast is yearely supplyed as far as Malaccah, and when it happens to be scarce, and dear about Java as it did Ano 76 : 77 : ye Dutch, and others transport sevll shipps ladeing thither, tis' sold here by a Measure called a Parrah whereof : 80 make a Quoyan, wch weighs just : 30 : Pecl and ye ordinary sort is vsually worth : 10 : in 12 : Tecalls p Quoyan, but this yeare tis advanced to double as much and ye Exportacon strictly prohibited, because ye psent extraordinary invudacoñs exceeding wt has beene knowne in ye memory of Man, has done great damage to ye Cropp vpon ye ground.

Jaggarah. Jaggarah is made in great abundance att Purseloock Campem and Succotai very considerable quantityes being yearely transported to Jepan and some to Malacca : its vsuall Price : 2 Tecalls : 3 Mace p Pecl.

Tymber. This country is in all . . . . fully stored wth Tymber . . . . exported by ye Dutch to Malacca . . . .

[Eleven or twelve lines follow, but they are quite illegible.]

Hides. Raw Hides of Buffolls, Cowes, Deere, and Anteloopes come in great Quantityes from ye inlaud Country, and are all bought up by ye Dutch who have a Pattent for the engrossing thereof.

Shipps yt vse this Trade. The shipping yt vse ye forraign Partes yt frequent ye Trade of this Port are from Canton, Macow, Amoy, Cochin China, Suratt, and Cormandell.

Canton and Macow. The Comodities imported from Canton, and Macow are Rawe, and Wrought Silke, Quick silver, Tutenague, Porcellaine, Wrought Copp, and Iron Panns called Jauches.

Raw Silke. Rawe Silke generally sells for about : 500 : Tecalls p. Pecl till ye more then ordinary Quantity yt came this last yeare cheapened to : 450 : Tecalls, 'tis bought by ye King, and China Merchts for ye trade of Jepan, very little being expended in this Kingdome, And to ye same place ye wrought

silkes, being Paunches, Sattins, Damaskes, and Lynns, are alsoe exported.

Some Tutinague alsoe goes from hence to yt markett, but ye greater vend for yt Comodity, togeather wth ye Quick Silver, and ye fine Porcellaine is att Suratt, Cormandell, and Bengall.

Tutinague.

Wrought Copper, being sevll Sorts of Potts, and Dyshes for Domestick occasion as ye Jauches alsoe for ye same service are vsed here and exported to the Malayan countreys.

Wrought Copp. and Jauches.

Besides ye goodes of ye growth of yt place wch these shipps require, I have already intimated, they alsoe buy sevll Comodityes exported from Partes, as Sandall from Tymoor, Pepp, Camphire, and Birds Nests . . . . hither by ye Malayes in small Prowes, and som Callicoes of Suratt . . . . are likewise bought by ye Chineses of Canton. . . .

Invstmts made here for Canton and Macow.

We have yearly : 2 : or 3 : Somahs from Amoy. . . . [the rest illegible].

Trade of Amoy and

The vessells from Cochin China belong to ye King of yt Countery, comeing purposely for Salt Petre, and Lead, they bring chiefly Gold, with some Columbah wood a more costly p'fumed wood then Agulah, much used in Jepan, where it sells for : 3 : or 4 : times its weight in silver.

Cochin China.

The ships from Suratt, and Cormandell, bring cargoes of sevll sorts of Callicoes propp for ye vse of yt Countrey and Exportacon to Jepan, China, and Manillah, wch they barter for Tynn Copp., Tutinague, and Porcellaine, but greater Quantityes of Callicoes then come on these shipps directly to yt Port, are brought on this Kings and sevll Moores shipps from Bengall, and Metchlepatan to the Port of Tenassary, whence thy proceede Ouerland hether, and this considerable Trade is att prsent totally engrossed by ye Persians and Moores, who are now in Effect Mastrs of yt parte of ye Countrey as well as ye comerce, wch they are bound to acknowledge to ye kindness of ye p mentioned Vphra Synoratt who for : 30 yeares togeather, yt hee was of this Kings Cabinett Councell, made it his cheifest endeavr even to his own p'sonall prejudice to promote ye Intrest of his Countreymen, and those of ye Mahometan religion, wherein hee

soe farr succeeded, that ye Collonies they have planted in those partes doe almost equall ye number of ye natives but far exceed them in wealth, and power. The Rajah or Gouernr of Tenassary and and Towne of Mergee being Persians, and ye like at all ye eminent Townes along ye road hether Pibley, Prawn, Queel, &ca and likewise at ye comand of ye Kings shipps yt sail from Tanassary to Meccow and Bengall and his ffactrs yt reside in those partes to negotiate his Affaires who in order to gratify their ambition are adorned wth ye title of Embassadors . . . in this city Iudicah here are many merchants. . . .

[About ten lines follow, which are too obscure to be read.]

Yearly send one or two Som̃ahs to Jepan, and Canton, and sometimes to Amoy, but the King onely sends every yeare one to Manilah, those affaires both maritine and Mercantine are managed by Chyneses as well here, as abroad ye ffactrs ware housekeeprs and Accomptants being all yt nacon whereof ye cheifest belonging to ye King is a p'son of great Quality intitled Vphrah Sivepott.

The other vessells of this Port are most owned by Chyneses except : 2 : or 3 : yt belong to other Merchts.

The Sommahs for Jepan proceed on their voyage in ye month of June and return to January, ye goods of ye growth of this Place that they lade with are as before intimated, Sappan, Jaggarah, Cheroon, and Elephants teeth, and some Hides ye Chyneses doe alsoe procure in dispight of ye Dutch Comp as Pattent, besides wch they carry Quantityes of Callicoes of Suratt and Cormandell, and almost all or Europe manufactoryes yt vends here is exported thither, ye Returnes they bring from thence, are Gold Copangs, Copp, and Porcellaine.

Gold Copangs. The Price of Gold copangs here is betwixt : 13 : and 14 : Tecalls p peice.

Copper. Copp of them whose occasions necesitate an imediate sale to negotiate their Returnes, may att first arrivall bee bought for : 6 : Taell : 1 : Tecall p Pec l for Cash, but at ye same time tis currt for : 8 : Taell in Barter, as it alwayes rises alsoe to yt price for Cash att this Season of ye yeare, when tis exported to Suratt and Cormandell, &ca ye King vsed formerly to

engross ye great parte of this Comodity, and dispose of it in Barter att : 12 : Taell p Pec^{ll} but 2 : years since Vphrah Syunoratt p'vailed wth him to lower his Price to : 8 : Taells p Pec^{l} granted a Genl Liberty for buying thereof, and in recompence to himselfe to impose Custome of : 10 : p cent vpon all y^{t} was imported.

They now make great quantityes of Porcellaine in Jepan I have some ptical peeces comparable to any made in China of late years generally tis not altogeather soe good and ye extraordinary abundance last yeare rendred it very cheape. Jepan Porcellaine.

The Kings Sommah y^{t} voyages yearely to Minlah is laden . . . . of Suratt and Cormandell some raw, and wrought silkes of China . . . . Iron, and makes returns in Ryalls of Eight. Manilah.

[Next two lines illegible.]

Here is noe Custome paid, on any goodes imported, or exported except y^{e} : 10 : p cent lately imposed on Copp, but they have learned of ye Chynesis to exact a duty on ye measure of shipps wch is accordingly paid by all but ye English and Dutch.

The Dutch Comp^{a} have had a trade here about : 70 : years, their residence is on ye River side, where they have a very credible, and comodius habitation ye number of ye Europeans in y ffactory being about : 25 : p'sons, whereof above half are Artificers, and Seamen, and thir cheife has alsoe a ffactory subordinate to him att another Port in this Kings Dominions called Legoor about one hundred leagues to ye S^{o}wards. Dutch Comp^{as} Trade.

The trade of this Place has formerly beene of very great advantage to them, in ye considerable quantityes of Callicoes of Suratt, and Cormandell they have readily vended to great advance, and noe less in ye Cargoes of Tynn they were here provided w^{t}. for Returnes to those marketts, but both these curr^{ts} of Profitt have been obstructed, ye former declyning as ye Trade of ye Moores att Tenassary encreased, and Shipps from Suratt navigated directly hither, wch has overcloyed this Countrey wth all sortes of Callicoes, and lowred ye prices much under w^{t} their ord^{rs} from Batavia

limitt them to sell att, soe yt I am credibly informed the total amount of their yearely sales does not now countervail their charges.

[More than seventeen lines follow, a great part of which is quite illegible.]

Considerable Privileges for Advance of their trade, amongst wch ye principal were ye intire Monopoly of ye Tynn att Legoor, and liberty to buy it here of ye People att : 15 : Taell : 2 : Tec. p baharr wch has made them very plentifull satisfaction for ye p'judice they susteyned by Ocha Pecheet, but yett this could not content their Avarice, for they have been sevll times endeavouring to encroch further, and make themselves masters of ye whole Trade; by p'swading ye King to lett all his Tynn likewise pass into their hands, once since my arrivall they made him an offer obliging themselves to take off ye whole Quantity ye Countrey produced at : 16 : Taell p Baharr p'sent paymts in Cash or one Cattee p Baharr payable att a yeares time, and this Contract to dure for : 10 : yeares, but twas not accepted, and they were fortunate in his refusall, the Comodity being soe much fallen in its Price att Suratt &ca yt they would have had noe good Cause to bragg of their bargaine, whereof they are soe sensible yt instead of designing to engross I have of late known them refuse sevll parcells have beene proffered, and ye whole Quantity they now p'chase here, and att Legoor exceeds not : 800 : Baharrs, yt att Legoor att : 15 : Taell, but here twas always att ye p'mentioned Price of : 15 : Taell : 2 : Tecalls till the Present cheif brought it downe to ye Legoor Price alsoe, and talkes still of Cheapening it considerably both here, and there, wch indeed I thinke it imports him to endeavr for ye difference twixt : 15 : Taell p Bah here, and : 9 : Rupees p Maund att Suratt, or : 29 : Pagodas ye Candy att Metchlepatam (as are now ye currt Prices in those parts) will scarce defray ye charge of ffreight besides ye consideracon yt they buy all with ready cash. they constantly make great Investmets in Raw Hides wch is ye most beneficial Remaines of their former great trade here. . . .

[The rest illegible in parts of the lines.]

F.

The following is Samuel White's Petition to the House of Commons describing his grievances against the Company.[1]

THE

CASE OF SAMUEL WHITE.

Humbly presented

To the Honourable, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.

I went to *India*, *anno* 75. as Mate on board the Ship *Loyal Subject*, Captain *William Goodlad* Commander, for the *East India* Company; and did with the knowledge and consent of the *Governour* of *Fort* St *George*, and by leave of the foresaid Commander remain in *India*, giving security to indempnifie the said Commander, from the penalty of One Hundred Pounds, he was lyable to pay for any Person so left behind him, which being accordingly exacted by the Company at the Ships return, was duly discharg'd by my Correspondent here.

Mr. *George White* my Brother, did at this time reside in the kingdom of *Syam*, whither at his Invitation I remov'd, and voyaging soon after to *Metchlepatam*, it happened in time of my being there, that the King of *Syam's* Agent applied himself to the Chief of the Companies Factory, for a Person well qualified to navigate a Ship of the Kings, betwixt that place, and the Port of *Mergen*: To which employ he was pleas'd to recommend me, and I continued therein about four years, being so happy to have my services so well accepted

[1] Record Office, Domestic, James II., 1688. This undated printed paper is in folio, and consists of four pages. Tacked on to it is another page, seemingly part of the same publication, headed "*Memorials*," dated September 1688, "*lately Presented by the* French *and* English *Ambassadors to the States General of the United Provinces*." It would seem, therefore, that the two documents formed part of a Parliamentary paper. But what has become of White's account of the "Passages at Mergen"?

by the said *Kings Ministers*, and by them so favourably represented to his *Majesty* that he was graciously pleased, to let me in a large measure partake of his *Royal* Bounty and favour.

In this Interim, Mr. *Constant Phaulkon*, who sometime had his dependence on my Brothers friendship, was become very considerable in the Court of *Syam;* as he has since by his great merit, rais'd himself to be the *Prime Minister*, having all Important Affairs of the Kingdom entirely under his Charge and Conduct; and by his kind assistance, I was advanc'd to another employment, much more advantageous; being made *Shawbander* of *Tenassary* and *Mergen*, whereby I was entrusted with the Collecting and managing all the *Kings* revenues in that *Province*, and was likewise *Chief Commissioner* for his Maritime Affairs, of which my preferment I delayed not to give notice to my friends in the Companies service at *Fort* S^t^. *George*, *Metchlepatam* and *Bengall*, humbly tendering my best services to their Commands, in whatever I might be useful to the Publick or their private Concerns, and they were pleased to return me their kind Congratulations, and gave me several occasions of serving them. Nor was it long after my being rais'd to this Capacity, that there did present a suitable opportunity to testifie my *Zeal* to the Companies Service; for their Ship the *Golden Fleece*, on her return from *Bengall* to *England*; sprung a desperate Leake, in which distress the only near and commodious Port that presented to their relief was *Mergen*, whither in confidence of my friendly assistance they came, and found me as ready to grant, as they could be to request, all that my interest and influence there could afford them, in my giving them the use of my own Slaves for the more expeditious unlading their Ship, securing their Goods in Warehouses ashore, and assisting the relading thereof without the least Charge, when the Ship was refitted to proceed on her Voyage, for which I also supplied them with whatever they wanted at the very same rate that the *King* himself paid, and wholly excused them from all the duties of the Port. But I need not particularize how fully I answer'd or rather exceeded their expectations in all things, or call any other Testimony for proof thereof, than the report made here at home by Captain *James Cook* the Commander, who was so

sensible of my good deservings on this occasion, that he very earnestly solicited the Committee for some signification of their kind accepting those my considerable Services. But an over ruling power amongst them, rendered this grateful motion ineffectual; however I am not less pleas'd, that I had the good fortune to be instrumental in securing and forwarding so great a Concern as that was, which I understand did here produce no less than 19000l.

It was now the beginning of the year 84. when I received orders from the *Court of Syam*, to fit out several Ships for prosecuting the War against the *kings of Golcondah and Pegu*, as by the same Command I also did the succeeding year, in which expeditions I must own, we were very much befriended by the President and Council of *Fort* St. *George*, who supplied us with Ammunition and Naval Stores, and accommodated us with some *English-men* for those occasions, nor were they wanting to congratulate our successes, and make large proffers of their readiness, to give us further assistance, as appears by their general Letters, both to my *Lord Phaulkon*, and my self; while on the other side, there was all possible care taken by the *kings* special Command, that not the least injury or offence should be done to the Company, or any under their protection, as was strictly enjoin'd in the Commission to every Commander; and accordingly amongst many smaller Vessels, two Considerable Ships that were taken at *Pegu*, and brought into *Mergen*, tho they appeared to belong to the Inhabitants of *Mechlepatam*, yet upon producing *English* Passports were without trouble discharged.

In this good accord stood the Correspondence betwixt the *King of Syam and our Company* to all appearance, when in April 87. we were surpris'd with the strange News that Captain *Nicholson*, Admiral of the Companies Fleet in *Bengall*, had there seized on a Ship of the *king* of *Syams*, called the *Revenge*, Commanded by Captain *Edward English*, who then came from *Fort* St. *George*, where he had been kindly received and supplied with Ammunition and Men for the *Kings* service, and these ill tidings were soon followed, by the like Intelligence, concerning a *Sloop* of the *kings* called the *Mary*, taken by Captain *Battin*, in the *Rebecca*, at the *Port* of Pondicherry,

about which time, I also receiv'd Letters from my friends at *Fort* St *George*, acquainting me that the Company had sent out positive orders, for making War upon the *king* of *Syam:* Of all which, I did (as my duty obliged me) immediately despatch advices to my *Lord Phaulkon*, and the *Privy Council*, humbly Offering it as my opinion, that since we well knew this undeserved rupture must be occasioned by the malicious misreports of some, who were in that regard no less Enemies to their own Countries Honour, and welfare, than the affairs of *Syam;* and that against all the Rules of Justice, and Law of *Nations*, these acts of Hostility were committed, before any Cause assign'd, by making complaint, and demanding satisfaction. It would therefore be convenient, that his *Majesty* of *Syam* employ'd some fitting Person to the *King* of *England*, to give him a true account of these unkind usages, and endeavour to renew and corroborate that Correspondence, which his *Majesty* of *Syam* had in so many instances manifested his intention, and desire to conserve with the *English Nation*. *My Lord Phaulkon* and the *Council*, made their applications to the *King*, concerning this motion of mine, who was pleas'd not only to approve thereof, but also to do me the Honour of nominating me, to serve him in that occasion; and because there was then no Ship of the *Kings* in *Port*, so proper for the Voyage, as this of my own, whereon I afterwards escap'd with my Life; I had orders to fit her, and myself, with all expedition, and be in readiness to proceed upon receipt of Letters from *Court;* with considerable Presents to the *King*, and his *Royal Consort*, which were dispatching towards me, and had certainly come to hand in twenty days time, had not the sudden fatal change of things, after the arrival of Captain *Weltden* in the *Curtana*, not only prevented that design, but occasioned the *Massacre* of about 60 of my Country Men on that Place: I only by a Miracle of Mercy, being left to bring the sad account of that bloudy Tragedy, which I am ready to represent when this Honourable House shall be pleas'd to command it.

And now I am come to that unhappy Period when those heavy Calamities began to fall upon me, which have brought me to ruin, and desolation. For at the time I fled aboard

my Ship to save my Life, I left behind me 21877. l. which I had at that Place in sundry effects, as I can prove by an exact account of the particulars, upon my Oath, having also the Testimony of other credible Persons, for the greater part thereof, and under the present circumstances of the War our Company has been pleas'd to make with the *King* of *Syam.* I have too much reason to despair of retrieving any thing of it; but this was yet a part of the severe persecution I have suffered; for while I was under these disasters at the place of my Residence, my other considerable Concerns that were abroad in Trade, were made a Prey by the Companies Servants, which is more particularly my present complaint, and I subjoyn a true account thereof as follows.

In the foresaid Sloop *Mary*, taken by Captain *Battin*, I shipp'd sixty Chests of Copper, for my proper account, consigned to *Monsr. Delandres*, second of the *French* Factory at *Pudicherry*, which the Gentlemen at *Fort* St. *George* were pleas'd to condemn in their Court, and confiscate to the Companies use; wherein I first accuse them of the grossest injustice, for they might if they had pleased, have been satisfied of my Property, in those Goods by the bill of Lading, which was produc'd in their Court in my behalf, and not only at the time when I Shipp'd that Concern, but also when the vessel was taken, there was no war declared with *Syam*, and therefore with what legal pretence, they could lay claim to those Goods of mine, I leave to the judgment of all impartial Persons in the World. But I am further also to accuse them, of the basest Ingratitude to me, who had in the like case deserv'd much more friendly dealing from them; for in the preceding year, when one of the *King* of *Syams* Men of War, brought a Prize into *Mergen*, belonging to the Subjects of *Golcondah*, and on the examination of the Cargo, I found sundry Goods to a considerable amount that appear'd to belong to Mr. Robert *Freeman*, the Companies Chief at *Metchlepatam*, I secur'd them for him, and remitted them to the President, and Council at *Fort* St. *George*, as I can prove by their own acknowledgment, and this my kindness they were pleased so soon after to gratifie in seizing my foresaid Copper to the amount of 400*l.* The next thing I complain of is, concerning an Adven-

ture I had on board the *Derreah Dowlett*, a Ship of the *King* of *Syam's*, which by order from Court, I laded with sundry Merchandises and dispatch'd for *Acheen*, having also liberty to lade on her a considerable quantity of *Rice*, and *Liquors* for my own account, which I consigned to *William Mallett*, my Servant; whom I sent in the same bottom, and they were no sooner arrived at *Port*, and began to dispose of the Cargo in *April*, 87. but Captain *Consett* came thither in the *Berkly Castle*, wearing his *Majesties Colours*, and took the said Ship, and tho my Factor did then manifest unto him my aforesaid Concern by Invoice and Orders, and made demand accordingly; yet would he not be prevailed with, to restore the least part thereof, but violently seized on all, whereby I am damnified the amount of 1838*l.* as besides my own Oath, I can prove by the Testimony of others; At the same time and place, the said Captain *Consett* took also a Ship of mine, then riding in that Road, under the Ensign of our *Nation* called the *Success* of about 100 Tuns burthen, and tho the Master *Caleb Tracy*, did make appear by my Commission to him that she belonged to me, yet was he not pleas'd to take the least notice thereof, but Seiz'd and carried her with him to *Bengall*, which Ship cost me set to Sea 450*l.*

My next, and greatest Article of this kind, is concerning my Ship *Satisfaction*, burthen about 350 Tuns, which in *January* 87. I dispatched with a Cargo, to Mocah in the *Red Seas*, the Prime Cost of stock and block amounting to 7800*l.* which I solemnly affirm did entirely belong to myself; She arrived in safety at her Port, the 20. of *April*, where having delivered her Cargo ashore to my Factor, Mr. *William How*, the Ship was according to my Order, sent to a place about five Leagues distant to take in a quantity of Salt, while my Factor was making sale of my Goods; but on the 25. of *May*, Captain *Andrews*, in the Ship *Charles the Second*, arrived there in the equipage of an Admiral of his *Majesties* Fleet, wearing the Union Flagg at the Main Topmast head, and first he sent his Barge ashore with several armed Men, to seize Mr. *How*, and the *Purser* Mr. *Wortly*, as they did, and carried them Prisoners aboard his Ship, where at first sight of Captain *Andrews*, Mr. *How* deliver'd him a letter from me directed to the Com-

manders of any of the Companies Ships he should happen to meet with, in which I signified my Property in the aforesaid Ship and Cargo, and humbly requested their assistance and friendship, as occasion might require. But instead of exercising any such humanity towards them or me, he not only detained them his Prisoners, but went himself ashore, to take possession of my Estate, entering the House wherein my Goods were lodg'd in a sort of Triumph. For he did, himself the Honour to have the *King's* Flagg carried before him, which he afterwards fix'd upon the House, and having thus made himself Lord and Master of my Goods, he sent two Boats with armed Men, in search of my Ship, which they soon found out, and tho there was not the least resistance made, by the use of Weapons, nor any other defence, save the the Mens shutting themselves into their close quarters, yet at the first entering of my Ship, they fired thirty or forty Pistols, and therewith mortally wounded the Master Mr. *William Rand*, whom with the rest they carried Prisoner on board the *Charles the Second*, where after nine days languishing he dyed, and was used by Captain *Andrews* with that barbarous cruelty, that his earnest request of but having a friend admitted to speak with him, a few hours before he expired, was denied him. The Commander being thus Murthered, and the Ship taken, Captain *Andrews* goes on to do what he thought fit with my Goods, converting some to his own use, selling some at *Mocah*, and carrying the rest to *Bombay*, where at his arrival he first paies his Hommage to the *General* S^r^. *John Child*, by making a present to his *Lady* out of his spoils being several of my large *China Jars*, And some time after he had thus begun to do Execution, they go on to the tryal and condemnation of my Ship and Goods in the Court of Admiralty, where (his *Excellency the General* having turn'd out *D^r^.* S^t^. *John*, who was Commission'd by the late *King Charles*) S^r^. *John Weyborn* the Deputy Governour of the *Island*, did by the Generals Commission sit in the place of Judg, and had for his Mates *Patrick Simpson* the Minister, and *Henry Thrustcross* a Factor, which I must by the way observe, was an open violation and contempt of the very Charter, whereon they ground their pretended Authority, for erecting that Court; For the

said Charter which by their great interest with some of the Ministers of State, they obtained in the year 83. does expressly require that it consists of a Person learned in the *Civil Law*, and two Merchants, whereas Sr *John Weyborn* was bred a Sailor, *Patrick Simpson* is a *Scotch Parson*, and *Henry Thrustcross* a *Native* of *India*, all of them wholly Ignorant of the *Civil Laws*, but they prov'd themselves nevertheless sofficient to serve this turn. For when they were set up, Captain *Andrews* exhibited a Libel to them, alledging the Ship to belong to the *King of Syam*, and it was very industriously endeavoured both by the General and him, that they should find it so, in the hopes by its passing for the Concern of a Prince whom they call'd their Enemy, it would both help to stifle the loud outcrys of the Commander's Blood, and also give them a surer Title to the Prize, but the Men of my Ship continued all stedfast in affirming that I was the sole Proprietor, to the best of their knowledge, (altho I am able to prove that one of them was tempted by a considerable Bribe to have declared the contrary) by which this stratagem fell to the Ground, tho his *Excellency* express'd his displeasure against his *Ministers* of his *Admiralty* for disappointing him therein; But however they were resolv'd by some means or other to compass their ends; for upon this disappointment, Captain *Andrews* caus'd the first Libel to be withdrawn, and contrary to the common stile of all such Courts was suffer'd to prefer another, declaring the Ship and Goods to belong to me; but must nevertheless be made a Prize in regard she had not a Pass from some of the Companies Servants: *For the General who declares he has* **Despotick Power and Sovereign Authority** *in his breast would have it so, and his Judges obeycd his Voice*; tho it seems their Conscience gave them a Check whilst they were passing that cruel and unjust Condemnation, by raising some doubts among them of the Validity of that Reason to confiscate my Estate, which caus'd them to subjoin a Clause to their illegal and erroneous Sentence, declaring that tho the Ship and Goods were now condemn'd as mine, yet if any part thereof should afterwards appear to belong to the King of *Syam* or his Subjects it

should be condemn'd accordingly;[1] and thus by depredation begun by Captain *Andrews* at *Mocah*, and finished by the *General's* **Despotick Power and Sovereign Authority** at Bombay, I have had the amount of 7,800*l.* principal money most unjustly and violently taken from me; And I am sure I do myself wrong in charging them with no greater Sum than 8000*l.* more for the Advance which that Adventure would have render'd me. Nor must I here forget that the Poor Men belonging to my Ship had no better quarter given them for their small matters, for when in most humble manner they petition'd his *Excellency* the *General*, that he would be so gracious to Consider 'em for their Wages, and permit 'em to have those few things that belonged to 'em, all they got by it was to hear his *Excellency bolt out his Indignation* against them in calling them Rebels, and commanding them from his Presence.

I have thus most faithfully and as briefly as I could given a true Account of my present Condition, whereby it appears I went a *India* in a Ship of the Companies, and staid there

[1] The following document (OC. 5639) relating to the ship *Satisfaction* exists in the India Office, and on the back of it is written:—

"The Sentence of ye Court of Admiralty dated 12 Xber, ffor Condemation of ye Shipp Satisfaction."

It was received in London on the 21st July, 1688.

"12 *December* 1687.

"To Sir John Wyborne Knt Vice Admiral of the North of India, Deputy Governor of the Port and Island of Bombay, Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Admiralty in these Eastern Parts, Henry Thurscros humbly presented his opinion concerning the ship Satisfaction." He said:—

"But whereas wee are given to understand yt the said Mr. White, is a great officer under ye King of Syam being his Shabander, and haveing ye fitting out all ye sd Kings Shipps to sea at ye Port of Mergen, the said shipp being fitted out from ye said place; and so notwithstanding what hath appeared to this Court, The sd King, Mr. Constant Phaulkon, or some other of ye sd King's Subjects or Servants may be really concerned in either Shipp or Cargoe or both; and so may lay hold of this sentence of Condemnation (it relateing only to Mr. Samuell White), to pretend and lay clayme to their said respective shares; To prevent which I do hereby condemn and pronounce condemned all and every such part or parts of ye sd Ship and Cargoe as shall appear hereafter to be found anyways to belong to ye sd King's Subjects or Servants, as a Lawful prize to our Sovereign Lord ye King, and the Rt Honble East India Company as being ye goods of publique Enemies to our said Sovereign Lord ye King to be disposed of to ye use of our said Sovereign Lord ye King and ye sd Rt Honble Company as accustomary in such Cases —The Charges of this Court deducted.

"HENRY THURSCROS."

with leave for which I paid 100*l*., and as to my accepting an Employment in the King of *Syam's* Service, I was not onely introduc'd to it by the Companies Chief and Council at *Metchepatam*, but during all the time of my Continuance in that Station I held a friendly Correspondence with the *President* and some of the Chief of their servants at *Fort* St *George* yearly trading to that Port with my own Shipping which were always kindly receiv'd, and dispatch'd tho they never had any other Passes than my Commissions to the Commanders and Supra Cargo's; and moreover, I was still further confirm'd in my belief that my residence at *Mergen* was no way displeasing, by perusal of a kind Letter which the late King was pleas'd to honour my *Lord Phaulkon* with, wherein he does graciously condescend to acknowledge the great kindness my Lord hath shewn his Subjects in that kingdom, and desires the continuance thereof on assurance of his Royal favour to him in all Occasions. And after all this when his Command for my leaving that Place and Service, was made known to me by the *Proclamation* publish'd by Captain *Weltden*, I obey'd it with all dutiful submission. I never shew'd the least disrespect nor did the least prejudice to the Company, but contrarily was ready on any Occasion to do them the best Services that lay in my Power: yet what by their means I have lost at *Mergen*, and has since been taken from me by their Servants, is of no less value than 40000*l*. escaping with my Life in an empty Vessel, wherein I am come to throw myself at the Feet of Justice, and implore relief against the Author of these Oppressions. SAMUEL WHITE."

This petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 18th April, 1689,[1] when it was resolved, "That it be referred to the Committee appointed to consider of the matter of the Petition of Charles Price and others (submitted the same day) and the whole affairs of the East India Company; to examine the matter of the same Petition; and to report the matter, with their opinions to the House with all convenient speed." Samuel White, however, did not live to learn the result of his appeals to Parliament, as it has been

[1] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. x. p. 92.

ascertained from a Record in Somerset House[1] that he died in the following month, leaving two daughters, Susanna and Maria.

But from the Court Minutes we learn that Samuel White had previously submitted a statement of his grievances to the Directors of the East India Company, and that, on the 25th January 1688/9, they passed the following resolution on it:—

"A representation of Mr. Samuel White being this day delivered in Court by his brother Mr. Geo. White complaining of the losses he had sustained by the Comp^as Servants in their seizing of his Ships and goods to a great value mencõned in a List thereto annexed, answer was returned, that the Company did believe that what their Servants or Factors had done was according to Law, and that ye Company had a great demand on his Brother, who was the occasion of the war at Syam, and of very great loss and dammage to the Company."

The Directors lost no time in replying to White's Petition to Parliament, as, soon after its presentation, they produced their "Answer" which has been so frequently quoted in this work. It bears the following title:—

"*To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses Assembled in Parliament.*

"The Answer of the *East India-Company*, to Two Printed Papers of Mr. *Samuel White*, one Entituled *His Case;* The other, *A True Accompt of the Passages at Mergen.*"

This extends to four pages, and is followed by "An Historical Abstract of Mr. *Samuel White*, his Management of Affairs, in his *Shabander* Ship of *Tenassery* and *Mergen*, during *Francis Davenports* stay with him, in Quality of Secretary: Collected out of the said *Davenports* own Private Memoirs; for the clearer Discovery of whatsoever may have Relation to the Right Honourable English *East India* Company themselves, or others our Country Men in *India*, through his proceedings, in pretence of his Ministration of that Publick Office under the King of *Syam*."

[1] Fol. AA., 1689, p. 71. In this Calander, Samuel White is entered as of Bath, Somersetshire, and is stated to have been in the East Indies. Letters of Administration were granted to his brother George, his two daughters being minors.

There are thirty-six pages of these Memoirs, succeeded by an official paper which has the following heading:—

"Fort St. George,
January the 30th, 168 7/8.

"A True and Impartial Narrative of Captain *Anthony Weltden*, Commander of the *Curtana* Frigate; his Management of Affairs in his late *Mergen* Expedition, so far as it came under the Cognizance of the Subscribers: Divided into the subsequent several Articles, to the end that both the Matter may be related in an unintermitted Series, as it past or was acted, and also each respective Subscriber may Attest the Truth of these particular distinct Articles, which according to their best Knowledge, and with clear Consciences, they are ready to maintain upon their Oaths, when Lawfully thereunto required."

There are ten pages in this document, and thirty-seven Articles.

It is followed by another and concluding paper, entitled "A True Account of Captain *Weltden's*, &c. being Assaulted at *Mergen*, and his Escape." This document is paged consecutively with the foregoing ones, and its articles are also numbered in continuation of those in the Impartial Narrative, the total number being fifty.

The names of the attestors are Francis Davenport, Joseph Weld, Thomas Johnson, Robert Reay, Edward Gray, and Robert Mansell. It extends to nearly six pages.

Although this document is addressed to the Right Honourable the Knights, &c., assembled in Parliament, I have not been able to trace it in the Journals of the House of Commons, unless it be the petition presented by the East India Company on the 28th October, 1690.[1] However this may have been, White saw the Company's Answer on his return to London from attending the obsequies of his brother, and so great was his indignation at the statements contained in it, that he immediately drew up a reply entitled—

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. x. p. 454. In my search for the Petitions of the brothers White I had the assistance of my friend Mr. D. H. Coghill, M.P.

Reflections
on a Scandalous Paper,
entituled
The Answer
of the
East-India-Company
To Two Printed Papers
of Mr. Samuel White:
Together with the True Character of
Francis Davenport.
The said
East India Company's Historopographer.
Detecting some of the Villanies he has been
Guilty of in several parts of the WORLD; and proving
the PAMPHLET now Publish'd by the foresaid
Company in his name to be a *Malicious Forgery*, under
Attestations of sundry Credible Persons."
Humbly Presented to the Honourable
The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in
Parliament Assembled,
by George White.
London, Printed in the Year MDC.LXXXXIX.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who denounced Davenport:—John Casey, Mariner: George Tash, of London, Merchant: Winifred Blemair, of Ratcliff: Sir William Hedges, Knight, and Mr. Robert Dowglass, of London, Merchants: Mr. Francis Heath, of London, Merchant: Mr. Robert Harbin, of London, Merchant: Mr. Thomas Dennet, of London: William Smith, Master, and Hugh Wilkinson, Mariner, on board the ship *Resolution*: Phillip Gamon, Purser of the ship *Resolution.*

All the depositions are dated May 1689, and extend over eight pages. They all denounce Davenport, their terms of condemnation being in some instances most violent. He is spoken of us a *Treacherous Cheating* VILLAIN, an *Infamous Character*, and a most *Profligate Scandalous Person.*

George White's introductory remarks to his exposure and denouncement of Davenport begin by saying:—

"Since the *Profligate Age* we Live in do's daily produce new Prodigies of *Villany*, 'tis no very strange thing to see those *Criminals* who are Guilty of *Murder, Rapine,* and *Ingratitude,* have recourse to PERJURY for Protection: And therefore I was the less surpriz'd when at my return from discharging the last offices of kindness to my Deceased Brother, I perus'd a Paper, Entituled *An Historical Abstract* of *Mr.* Samuel White, &c. But that such an *Infamous Forgery* shou'd be brought into the World by a Sheet which is pretended to be *an Answer to my Brother's complaints;* and both then presented to the *Honourable House of Commons,* is such an Amazing Insolence, that no Mankind of a less Assurance than He who has vested himself with *Despotic Power,* cou'd dare to be the *Author* of the One, or the *Editor* of the Other."

The person here alluded to was Sir John Child, whom he describes "*as Poor a Fellow as ever my Lord Phaulkon was,* and had so continu'd to this day, had not the great Charity of an *Indulgent Uncle* put him forward in the World;" and he goes on to add:—

"That when the *Company's Chief Factor* at *Surrat* was call'd *President,* they Saluted him with the Stile of HONOURABLE; but since the GENERALSHIP, 'tis mounted to HIS EXCELLENCY, which is so uncouth a Word to the *Banians,* that they lose the two first Syllables in Pronunciation, saying Only, LENCY: And thus, as near as I can Copy after my Friend, they speak their Opinions of the Difference 'twixt the past and present Demeanour of the *English.*

"When Honor have here, *English-man* very Goodman have, buy Good, Pay Money; *Banian* put Life in *English-man* hand: Now this 'LENCY come DEVIL *thing come,* buy Good, run away, no pay Money, then War make, take Ship, take Good, kill man, DEVIL thing this 'LENCY, this 'LENCY, DEVIL *thing* have."

On the 7th June, 1689, a report from the Committee to whom White's petition was referred, along with many others, was made to the House of Commons, but as it dealt only with a narrative of the evidence of the witnesses examined, without expressing any opinion on the subjects under appeal, the whole matter was referred back to the Committee for their distinct opinion.

George White, now his brother's administrator, thought it his duty, under these circumstances, to submit another petition on behalf of his brother's estate and his two little daughters, and this document was presented to the House on the 13th July, 1689, and read. It seems to have been merely a repetition of Samuel White's first petition. The House also referred this petition to the same Committee as that to which Samuel's had been made over.

Nothing appears to have resulted from these petitions, and consequently George White submitted another, on the 14th May, 1690, in the same terms as the two previous appeals. It was ordered "That the consideration of the said Petition be referred to the Committee to whom the Bill for confirmation of the Charters granted to the present *East India* Company, until another shall be established by Act of Parliament, is committed: And that the Committee do hear the whole matter; and report the same specially to the House: And that the Committee do meet in the Speaker's Chamber; and adjourn to some more convenient place, if they think fit."

On the 28th October a petition of the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies was presented to the House, and it was ordered "that the said Petition be read on Thursday morning next, at eleven o'clock." This was probably the "Answer" of the Company to Samuel White's "Statement of his Case."

On the 15th November "a Petition of *George White*, administrator of *Samuel White*, deceased, against the *East India* Company," was presented to the House.

It was ordered "that the said Petition be read, when the Petition of the *East India* Company, formerly presented to the House, shall be read;" and on the 18th November it was ordered "that the Petition of the *East India* Company, and the Petitions against the said Company, which have been presented to the House, be read upon Thursday morning next."

On the 25th November "A Petition of *George White*, of Monmouth, Gentleman," was read, setting forth "that . . . but no order on it is recorded.

On the 9th December, 1690, it was ordered "That Mr.

White have leave to withdraw his Petition against the East India Company."

I am disposed to think that this order does not refer to a withdrawal of Samuel White's petitions, the ultimate fate of which I have not been able to trace, but that it points to a settlement of George White's claims on the East India Company, and for the satisfaction of which he had some time before adopted the very bold proceeding recorded in the following Minute of the Court, dated 11th May 1688, and which says:—

"This Court being informed y^{t} Mr. George White hath lately upon pretence of Writ of Fieri facias entered ye Comp^{as} warehouse wth several officers, breaking ye locks of ye doors forcibly carried away severall goods and Merchandizes to a great value, It is ordered y^{t} Mr. Thompson and Mr. Sewell doe forthwith draw up in writing a true state of ye matter of fact with all the circumstances attending ye same, and present it unto ye Com^{tees} for Lawsuits, who are desired (upon conference with Mr. Grange) to advise with Council learned what course may be taken for recovery of ye said goods: And whether ye said persons are not lyable to an Indictm^{t} in ye King's Bench for a Rout or Ryot: And to Report their proceedings therein unto ye Court."

The two following Minutes of the Court record how this dispute between George White and the Company was ultimately amicably settled.

"COURT MINUTES.
10th Feb., 1689.

"Sr Henry Johnson acquainting the Court that Mr. George White desired they would please to refer the pretences he has against the Comp^{a} to an arbitration, Answer was returned that the Court were willing thereunto, and that upon his nomination of two of the Members of the Court they would name two others to joyn with them for compromising the differences between them."

"COURT MINUTES,
24th May, 1690.

"Mr. George White having moved the Court the 16th instant by Sir Henry Johnson that the matters depending in difference between him and the Comp^{a} might be ended by compromise

he now appearing in Court and naming Sir Henry Johnson and Mr. Boun to be his Arbritators, the Dep^{ty}: Govern^{r}: and Mr. Mountency were nominated on the Comp^{as}: behalf to joyn with them, to which four gentlemen or any of them, all matters are submitted to be determined."

Shortly after George White withdrew his petition he brought out his well-known pamphlet entitled :—

An Account of the
Trade
to the
East Indies,
Together With
The State of the Present Company,
And the
Best Method
for
Establishing and *Managing* That Trade
To The
Honor and Advantage
of the
Nation.
Written By
Mr. *George White*, of *London*, Merchant.
At the Desire of several Members of Both Houses
of Parliament :
and
Now made Publick, for *General Information* in an Affair of so
Great Concern to the Whole Kingdom.
London
Printed in the Year, MDCXCI.

G.

Elihu Yale, Governor of Madras.

After I had communicated to Colonel Sir Henry Yule the few notes on Elihu Yale that appear in the third volume of

Hedges' Diary, I received from Mr. Dexter a copy of his pamphlet entitled "Governor Elihu Yale."[1]

The statement in the foregoing notes regarding the parentage of Elihu Yale on the father's side was taken from a book called "The Yale Family, or the Descendants of David Yale, with Genealogical Notices of each Family, by Elihu Yale, one of the Descendants."[2] Until Mr. Dexter's contribution to our knowledge of Yale's history appeared, it had been a long accepted tradition that Elihu Yale was the son of Thomas,[3] and not of David Yale. Mr. Dexter, however, has adduced two proofs which completely sweep away this tradition. But before stating what these are, the facts connected with the presence of the Yales in America will be explained by the following extracts from Mr. Dexter's pamphlet:—

"On the 4th of January, 1640, in the second year after the settlement of New Haven, the General Court agreed to make a division of certain lands in the town.

"The list made out in consequence stands in our Colony Records.[4]

"At the head is the name of 'Mr. Theophilus Eaton,' with a family of six persons . . . . and next after him and his brother and mother, comes the name of his step-son, David Yale, unmarried. . . .

"While Governor Eaton was a London merchant, some fifteen years before, he had married, as his second wife, Anne, the widow of David Yale, of the ancient family of Yale, of Denbighshire, in North Wales.

"By her first marriage she had two sons surviving, David and Thomas Yale.

"When their step-father joined with John Davenport in leading a colony into the Western Wilderness, the two Yales, then probably not far from twenty years of age, embarked with the company, and so we find David, undoubtedly the elder of the two, on the first grand list of New Haven. Thomas Yale's name is also on the list, with a smaller estate.

[1] Reprinted from the 3rd vol. of Papers of the New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., 1882.

[2] Published at New Haven, Connecticut, U.S., 1850.

[3] In Burke's "Landed Gentry" for 1886, p. 2061, Thomas Yale is said to have been his father.

[4] Hoadley's edition, vol. i. p. 91.

"David is not traceable here later than March, 1641; and he seems soon after to have disposed of his landed estate to his brother, and before April, 1644, to have settled in Boston as a merchant. The Boston registry shows in May and August, 1644, the birth and death of Elizabeth, daughter of David and Ursula Yale; and in 1645 and 1652 the births of their sons David and Theophilus; but the record is merely an early transcript of a missing original, and besides these names we seek in vain for the birth, perhaps on April 5, 1649, of the son Elihu, who is the subject of this sketch. It will appear later that this was undoubtedly his parentage, and we must accept the apparent imperfection of the official record as an unfortunate fact, but not as a contrary argument.

"His father, as the records sufficiently indicate, was an active and thriving merchant, but not in cordial sympathy with the civil and religious constitution of the colony. Accordingly, in May, 1646, he was induced to join with six other more or less uneasy individuals in signing a famous petition to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, . . . but the authorities of Massachusetts regarded it as a revolutionary petition. . . .

"David Yale paid £30 (corresponding at least to $600 now), into the public treasury for his appearance as the cat's paw of older plotters. The result made his position somewhat uncomfortable apparently; it may be that his return to England, a few years after, was a consequence, and not an unwelcome one.

"On the 5th of July, 1651, David Yale executed a power of attorney to two agents to dispose of his Boston estate; he probably left at once for England, though the record of the birth of another son in Boston in the following January seems to show that the removal of his family was deferred until 1652, when the son Elihu was three years old."

The father probably settled at once in London, and except a chance notice of his being in New England on a visit in the summer of 1659, the next trace of him is in connection with putting his son Elihu to school.

Here the first proof of Elihu's parentage may now be introduced. Mr. Dexter goes on to say:—

Mr. William Dugard, about 1661, "started a private school in Coleman street, in the city, some of the registers of admission to which are still preserved; and among the entries, under date of September 1, 1662, is the name of 'Elihu Yale, 2nd son of Mr. David Yale, merchant, born in New England, 1649.' (Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser., ix. 101.) The date of birth may be questioned, but there can be no doubt that this was the boy for whom Yale College is named, who now in the autumn of 1662, in his 14th or 15th year, joined Master Dugard's school, in Coleman street. . . .

"I may stop to sum up here, once for all, the conflicting evidence as to the date of Elihu Yale's birth. The school record, as we see, gives 1649, and the same year is given in a brief inscription on the portrait from life, and now owned by the College; while April 5, 1648, is given in early quotations of the legend on his monument, which is now obliterated. I am inclined to think that the two independent testimonies for 1649 are of more weight than the one for 1648, though April 5 may still have a good claim for the month and day of the year.

"But the training of Elihu Yale by Milton's friend, Master Dugard, was of the briefest; for death ended Dugard's teaching three months after Yale's admission, and we hear no more of his school experience."

The second proof that David was the father of Elihu is the following statement made by Mr. Dexter:—

"In July, 1665, "David Yale of the Parish of Cripplegate, merchant, finding himself," as the record runs, "subject to distempers and sickness," made his last will and testament, which was proved by his only surviving child, Elihu, thirty-four years later. In this he provides for his wife Ursula and for his four sons, David, Elihu, Theophilus, and Thomas. The eldest son is to have the family estate in Denbighshire (apparently near the town of Llangollen), and other houses and lands lately purchased near Wrexham in the same county are to be sold for the benefit of the younger sons.

"With this document our knowledge of the father ceases; for though he calls himself in the looser sense of that term a "merchant," his name is not entered in the earliest London Directory, the 'Collection of Names of the Merchants (*i.e.*

Bankers) living in and about the City of London,' in 1677."

In my researches among the Records of the India Office I have met with the following documents bearing on Yale's career in India.

In the Court Minutes of the 24th October, 1671, it is recorded that Elihu Yale, and Thomas Ivatt so often mentioned in this work, and called Lord Ivatt from the circumstance that a title had been conferred on him by the King of Siam, were chosen with eighteen other persons as writers.

On the 15th November of the same year, a Minute of the Court mentions that David Yale the elder of Nowhall in Denbighshire, and David Yale ye younger (his son and heir) became securities for Elihu Yale for the sum of £500.

In 1675 there is another notice of him in the Masulipatam Consultations.[1] In this volume there is a list of the Company's servants and others at Madras (Fort St. George), and among the former Elihu Yale is thirteenth on the list, with a salary of £10. The list was drawn up on the 30th June, 1675.

A document dated in the following year (1676) exists in the Madras Records, in which his name appears in a List of Persons in the Honble East India Comp^as^ Service at Fort St George, and in which he is stated to have arrived at Madras as a writer on the 23rd June, 1672. He is graded in the list as a factor, and his salary is entered as £20.[1]

The circumstance that he had been raised to the degree of a factor was communicated to the Court, and on the 31st December, 1678, a Minute records that "Mr. David Yale Senr of —— in ye Countie of Denby, Gent^l^, Mr. David Yale, Junior, and Edw. Herry's of London, Merch^t^ were approved of, to be addicioñall Securities for Elihu Yale, who is entertained into ye Degree of Factor at Fort St George."

In a Consultation held at Fort St. George on the 20th May, 680,[2] it is recorded that

"Mr. Joseph Hynmers having been sick and kept his chamber ever since the beginning of February dyed this day,

[1] Ind. Off. Rec. CC. vol. i.
[3] Ind. Off. Rec., JJ., A1, vol. iii.
[2] Notes and Extracts, Government Records, Madras, Pt. i. p. 101.

he left a wife and three children here, and one child went home by the last ships."

In the previous Records regarding Elihu Yale, he is always returned as a bachelor, but on the 27th December, 1680, he was appointed Provisional Customer, and in a list of the Company's servants at Fort St. George, apparently drawn up in January 1680–81, he is graded as the sixth official and entered as *married*. It is a well-established fact that he married the widow of Mr. Hynmers, so that he must have espoused her not many months after her husband's death. Four children resulted from the marriage—a son, David, and three daughters, Katherine, Anne, and Ursula.

David was born on the 13th May, 1684, and only survived a few years, as the following epitaph on his tomb at Madras records :—[1]

Hic jacet David
Filius Honorabilis Elihu Yale
Presidentis et Gubernatoris Castelli
St Georgii et Civitatis Madrassæ natus
Fuit 15 May 1684 et obiit 25 January Anno 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

Apparently soon after his death Mrs. Yale went with her daughters to England, arriving there towards the end of 1689, as on the 7th December of that year the Court of Directors ordered the Committee of the Treasury to deliver unto Mrs. Yale her wearing Jewells brought home in her Escritore in the *Rochester* permission free.

It has been stated by some writers, and I repeated it, that Mrs. Hynmers' maiden name was Jeronima de Paiba; but I now find this could not have been the case, as after Yale's death, on the 8th July, 1721, his widow and administratrix, Katherine by name, brought a writ of error to recover judgment given against her husband by the Court of Exchequer at the suit of His Majesty for £40,000.

Jeronima de Paiba is said to have been a Portuguese Jewess, one of two women who, in 1691, were living in scandalous relations with Yale at his garden-house in Madras[2] after his wife had returned to England. His improper relations

[1] Wheeler's Madras in Olden Time, vol. i. Madras, 1861, p. 183.
[2] Dexter, *l.c.*, p. 247.

with Mrs. de Paiba resulted in the birth of a son, who was called Charles Yale, and who died at the Cape of Good Hope on the 23rd January, 1711–12, aged, it is said, twenty-two years, and there he was buried, and a monument, with a Latin epitaph in which he is called the only son of the former Governor of Madras, records his death, and that of his mother who came from India to the Cape to die and to be laid by the side of her only child.[1]

As is well known, Elihu Yale was not permitted by the authorities at Madras to leave the country for some years after he had given up the Presidentship.

The following order occurs in the Records of Fort St. George on the 23rd July, 1694:—"The late President Yale having sent a note to us desiring an order to the Commander of the Sampson to receive him on board, and the judge declaring that there is already attached and secured goods of sufficient value to answer all actions that are now depending in this Court between him and the Rt. Honble. Compa., Its resolved that the said order be signed and sent him."

This was succeeded by another order dated 1st March, to the following effect:—"Receive on board Ship Sampson Elihu Yale Esq. late President with his necessaries as a Passenger for England affording the accommodation of the great cabbin he paying Eight pounds for sea Provisions."

In the Court Minutes of the 21st October, 1696, the following entry occurs:—"The Governour this day acquainting the Court, That Sr. Stephen Evance, and others, were importuned, to move the Parliament, That Mr. Elihu Yale, late President at Fort St. George, might have leave, to come for England, It being alledged, That he was forcibly detained in the country, and not sufered to come home, It is ordered, That the Committees, for writing of Letters, do peruse the Advices lately received from the Fort, touching this Affair; And that in the meantime, those Gentlemen be acquainted, It is the Compas. earnest desire, he should come home, and they are willing to joyn with them, in procuring a Privy Seal, to oblige him thereunto." Two months later some further

[1] Pennant's Tour in Wales, vol. i. p. 401, is quoted by Dexter as his authority for this statement.

progress was made towards granting an order, as on the 18th December it was recorded, "That it be referred to the Committee of Law Suits, to consider of a paper, now read, purporting an order, to be sent to Fort St George, for permitting Mr. Elihu Yale, with his effects, to come to England, and to report their opinion, in writing, what directions is fit to be given by the Court in that behalf." The report by this Committee, was read on the 8th January, 1697. It begins by saying, "Whereas Sr. Stephen Evance, Mr. John Paige and Mr. Thomas Yale, have desired our leave, and permission, That our late President, Elihu Yale Esqr: may return for England, having given security here, to answer, and make good, whatever demands, Wee shall, or may have, against him &c." They consequently ordered that he was to be permitted to do so either by land or sea, and that he was to have full liberty to embark on one of the Company's ships, provided he did so within the space of three years. They, moreover, accorded to him a privilege which had been granted to former Presidents, *viz.*, that he might bring with him five tons of the following goods: "Sacks of all sorts, Camphir, Myrrh, Rubies, Saphires, Bezoar Stones, Cornelian Rings, and Stones, Ambergrease, Aggats, Olibanum, Cotton Wool, Cordivants, and all sorts of Leather, drest or undrest Diamonds, all Stuffs made of Carmania Wool, Camells hair, or other hair, without any mixture of Silks or Cotton, or the Product of any living Insect, Orpment, Cassia Fistula, Civet, Cubebs, Cummin seeds, Assa Foetida, Sapis Lutia, Mirabolans, Sanguis Draconis, Nux-vomica, Oyl of Mace, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, and Cloves, Long Pepper, Salarmoniac, Screens, Cabinets, Senna, Spikenard, Tammarines, Wormseed, Sugar-Candy, Rice, Persia Carpets, Tortois, Shells, Opium, Gallingall, Combogium, Rubarb, all Sorts of China Wares, all sorts of lacquered Wares."

Their next step was to draw up an order for transmission to Yale,[1] and to decide this the Committee of Law Suits were desired to peruse the draught that had been proposed, and to appoint a time when Sr. Stephen Evance, Mr. Paige, and Mr. Thomas Yale might attend the Committee to decide what form the order should assume.[2] This having been determined

[1] Court Minutes, 3rd Feb., 1697.

[2] *Ibid.*, 15th Feb., 1697.

the bond given by Sr. Stephen Evance, Mr. John Paige, and Mr. Thomas Yale was considered, and being approved,[1] the order permitting him to return to England was sent to Madras.

In a letter in the India Office, written by the authorities at Fort St. George on the 22nd February, 169$\frac{8}{9}$, to the Worsp^{ll} Jno Brabourne, Comodore &^{c} Councill att Anjengo it is said, "The *Martha* arrived here from Bengall the 22^{d} past. . . . Govern^{r} Yale and severall others are gone home upon her;" and in another letter from the same factory dated 2nd May, 1699, it is stated that the late President Yale took his passage from Madras to England on the 20th February, 1699, on board the *Martha*.

It has been stated[2] that Yale became Chairman of the East India Company, after he returned to London, but a search through the lists of governors, deputy-governors, and directors, or managers as they were sometimes called, of the Old and of the New Company, preserved in the India Office, has failed to lend any support to this statement.

As I had seen it mentioned[3] that Elihu Yale was a Fellow of the Royal Society, I referred to the Minutes of the Society, and found that he was elected a Fellow in 1717. The circumstances that led to this are the following:—At a meeting of the Council held on the 17th October, 1717, the will of Dr. Thomas Paget was produced, bequeathing to the Society two houses in Coleman Street, which were let for £97, 10s. per annum, and three pictures—portraits of Gassendus, T. Hobbs, and Dr. Henry Moor. The President, Sir Isaac Newton, undertook to ask the executor, Mr. Elihu Yale, for the deeds of the estate. At a meeting held on the 31st of the same month, the President delivered to the Society two of the pictures bequeathed by Dr. Paget, which he had received from Yale. On the 21st December, Yale was proposed by Sir Hans Sloan as a candidate for a fellowship of the Society, and on the 30th of the same month he was duly ballotted for and elected. He, however, never signed the roll of Fellows.

A century after his election to the Royal Society, Mr. Christie, founder of the famous house of Messrs. Christie,

1 Court Minutes, 7th May, 1697.
2 Biographical Dict. Wm. Allen, Boston, 1857.
3 *Ibid.*

Manson, & Woods, sold by auction, "at his great room, Pall Mall, on Thursday, 19th June, 1817," some effects belonging to the late Barrington Pope Blachford, Esq. In the catalogue of the sale, Lot 7 is described as "The original diamond ring of Mary Queen of Scots *upon which are engraved the arms of England Scotland and Ireland* quartered, and of which the following well-authenticated history was communicated by that correct and learned antiquary, the late Richard Gough, Esqr., as cited in a letter from —— Brooke, Esq. to Miss Martha Browne, which will be delivered to the purchaser.

"That it descended from Mary to her grandchild Charles I. who gave it on the scaffold to Arch Bishop Juxon[1] for his son Charles II. who in his troubles pawned it in Holland for £300 where it was bought by Governor Yale and sold at his sale for £320 supposed for the Pretender. Afterwards it came into possession of the Earl Ilay, Duke of Argyle & probably from him to Mr. Blachford.

"This seal-ring appears to have furnished evidence that was fatal to Mary Queen of Scots."[2]

Mr. C. Drury E. Fortnum's researches seem to prove conclusively that this signet-ring was not the signet of Mary Queen of Scots, but that it was the diamond signet-ring engraved by order of Charles I. in 1628–29, with "o^r^ Armes in a Dyamond with lr̃es of the name of o^r^ deerest Consort the Queen,"—in other words, the signet of Queen Henrietta Maria.

There is another curious fact connected with this ring mentioned by Mr. Fortnum,[3] viz., that it was probably the diamond ring which Tavernier had in his possession in Persia.[4]

The writ of error which has been mentioned in the foregoing notes arose in this way. Elihu Yale had become security for £40,000 on account of Sir Matthew Kirkwood, Knt., a London Goldsmith, who was employed as banker or cashier to Edward Pauncefort and John Charlton, the Receivers-General of all the funds derived from the Revenues of Excise, and also private banker to Pauncefort. Sir Matthew and his partner, Robert Jeukes, absconded, indebted to Mr. Pauncefort £10,153,

[1] This was a myth, as at the time of Mary's death Archbishop Juxon was barely five years old. Fortnum, Archæologia, vol. xlvii. p. 396.

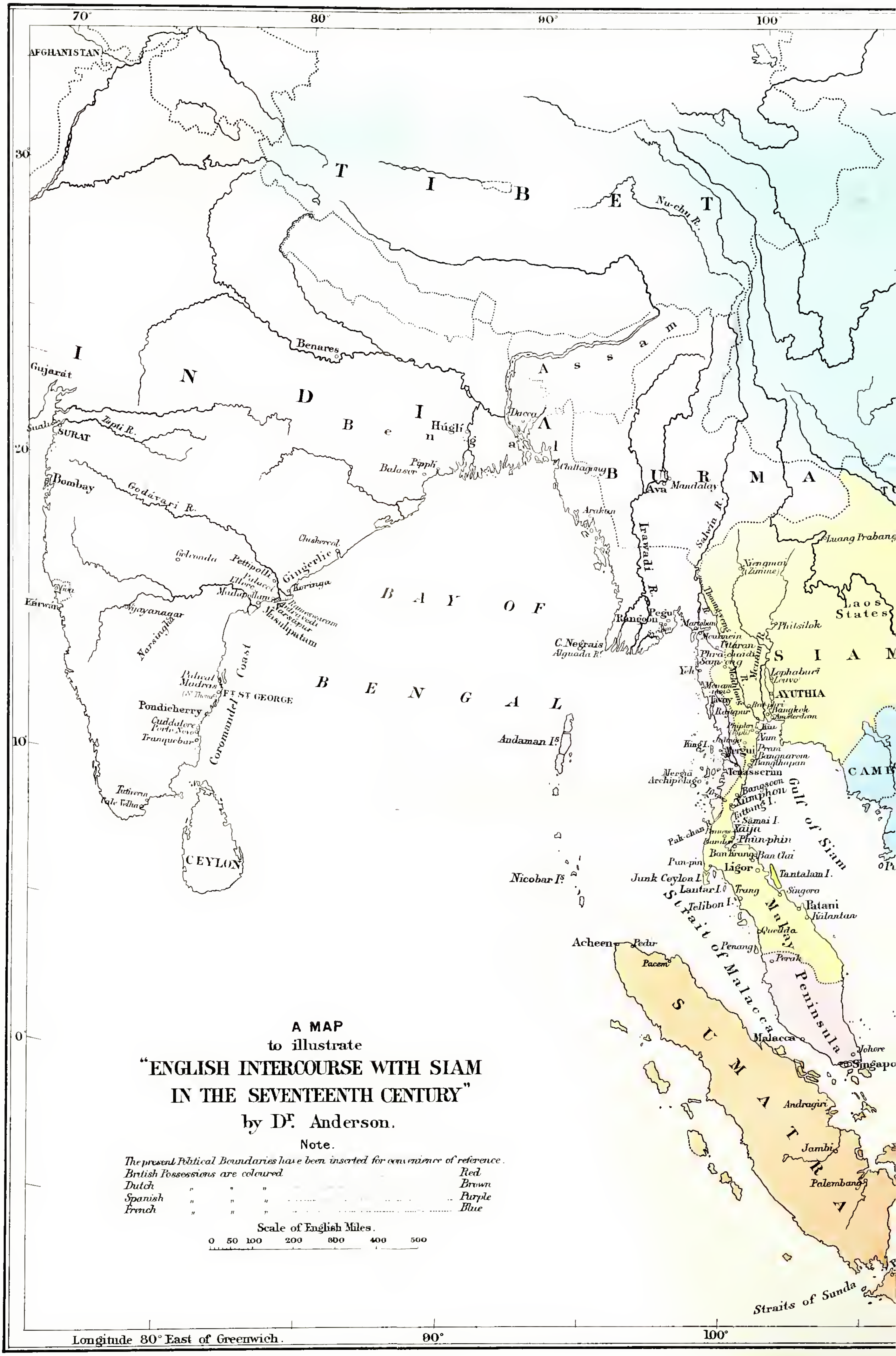
[2] Archæologia, vol. L. Pt. 1, pp. 109–110.

[3] Archæologia, vol. xlvii. p. 396.

[4] Voyage en Turquie, tom. iii. 4to. Paris, 1672–79.

10s. 8¾d. Kirkwood's goods were seized into the King's hands, and a *Scire Facias* out of the Court of Exchequer was issued against Elihu Yale upon his bond of £40,000. It was against this that Katherine Yale, his widow, appealed to the House of Lords.[1]

[1] Appeals to the House of Lords. To be heard at the Bar of the House of Lords on the 4th day of December, 1721.



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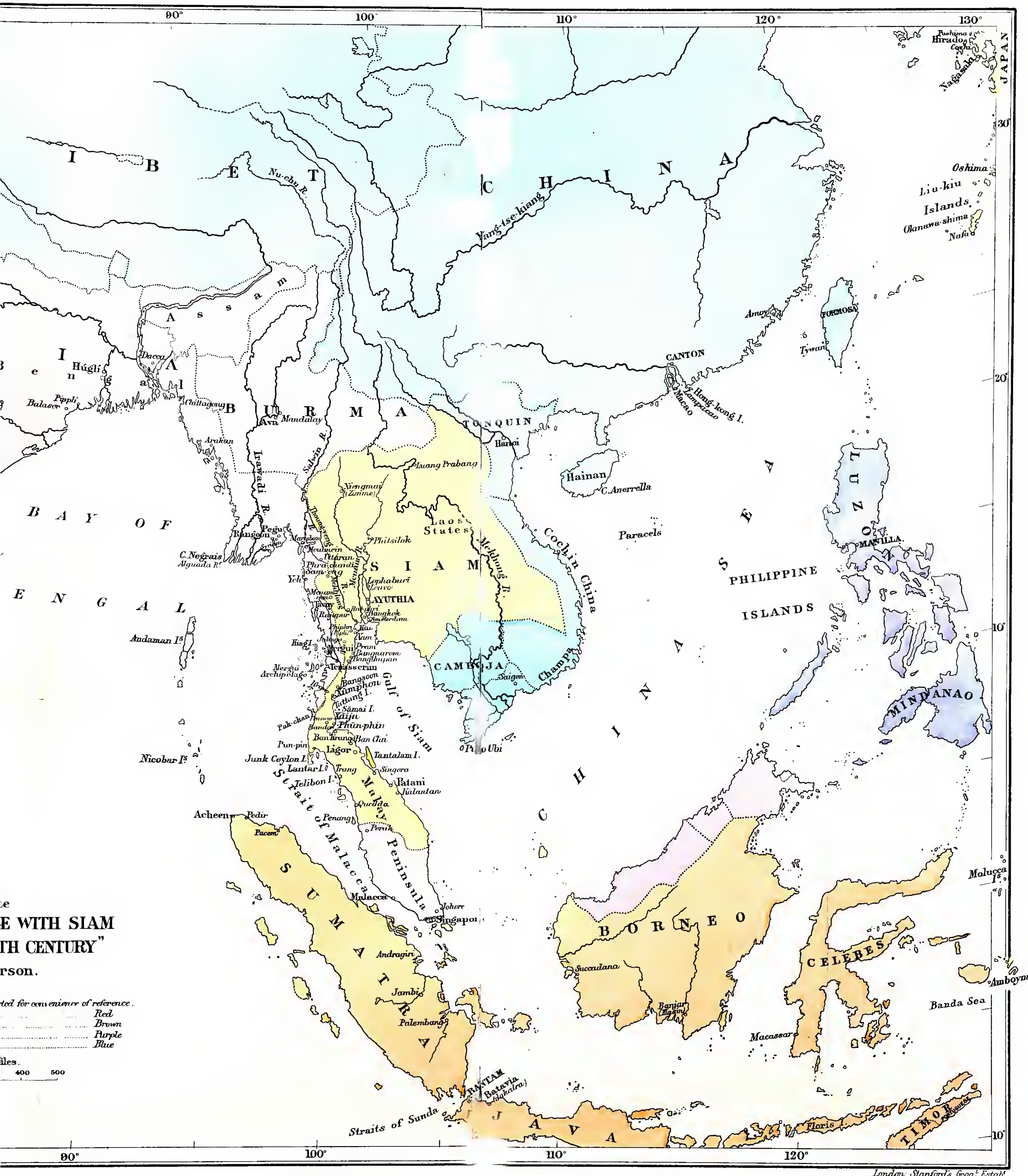

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